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GREGOROVIUS'

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. VIII.—PART II.

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HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

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ERRATA.

Page 623, lines 6 and 7 of heading of section, *for* "The Powers send a Declaration of War to Burgos," *read* "The Powers assembled at Burgos declare War."

Page 664, in marginal note, *for* "place of subjugating Florence," *read* "plan of subjugating Florence."

CHAPTER V.

1. Conclave—Adrian VI. Pope, January 9, 1522—His Early Career—Joy of Charles V. at his Election — Dismay in Italy and Rome — Battle at Bicocca, April 27, 1522 — The French driven out of Italy—Sack of Genoa —Anarchy in Rome—Pestilence—Sacrifice of a Bull in the Colosseum—Journey to Rome and Entry of Adrian VI.

The death of Leo X. was the salvation of several princes who found themselves on the brink of ruin. In the course of a few days Francesco Maria was able to regain possession of Urbino. With his aid the Baglioni also returned to Perugia, and Sigismondo Varano to Camerino. The sorely-harassed Duke of Ferrara recovered the greater number of his cities in the Romagna; he had a medal engraved with the legend "*De manu Leonis.*" The Petrucci of Siena, the Orsini and Colonna were in motion. The French, too, hoped to retain their position in Lombardy.

Rome after the death of Leo X.

Rome was temporarily ruled by three cardinals and the governor of the city, Vincenzo Caraffa, Archbishop of Naples. The Sacred College was

reduced to desperate straits. "If," wrote Castiglione at this time from Rome, "I tried to describe the utter destitution of this college, no one would believe me. Apart from the debts of the late pope, all the jewels, all the valuable Flemish tapestries, the mitres and tiaras, even the silver vessels, were pledged on his death."[1] Political circumstances made the new papal election difficult and momentous. If the emperor succeeded in procuring the nomination of a candidate, he could be regarded as lord of Italy and even of Europe; if a Frenchman were made pope, Francis I. might recover the power which he had lost. The contest lay necessarily between these two parties, and the imperial was strong and active. Valli, Vich, Piccolomini, Jacobazzi, Campeggi, the Cardinal of Sitten, Farnese, Lorenzo Pucci and Giulio Medici, were looked on as Charles's most zealous adherents.[2] Their opponents, the partisans of France, were Pietro de' Accolti of Ancona, Carvajal of S. Croce, Tommaso de Vio of the Minerva, and Soderini of Volterra. The imperialists carried their zeal to such a pitch that Prospero Colonna sanctioned the arrest in Milan of Cardinal Ferrerio (a man of French sympathies) while he was on his way from Turin to the Conclave. All who had any chance of the tiara stretched forth their hands with unblushing cupidity. Never were seen

Parties in the Cardinals' College.

[1] Castiglione's Despatch to the Marchese of Mantua, Rome, December 13. Gonzaga Archives in Mantua.

[2] Despatch of Don Juan Manuel, December 24, 1521, in the *Calendar of Letters*, ed. Bergenrot, ii. n. 370.

so many candidates for the Papacy; the Venetian ambassador Luigi Gradenigo counted eighteen, and Manuel, a novice in the intrigues of the papal election, was astonished by the spectacle which he witnessed in Rome. "Here," he wrote to Charles, "everything is based on avarice and falsehood; hell itself cannot harbour so much hatred and so many devils as there are among these cardinals."[1] Bets were made in the Banks on the election.

Carvajal aimed at the Papacy; but the bare recollection of Alexander VI. made the elevation of a Spaniard impossible. The highly-cultured Grimani and the wealthy Farnese aimed at it also. In England Wolsey, in close alliance with the policy of the emperor, from whom he was in receipt of a pension, and who had already been dazzled by Charles when in Dover with the hope of the Papacy, offered piles of gold to procure his elevation. But the prospects of Giulio Medici were better than those of any of his rivals. He was reputed a man of great intellect, and to him were attributed all the enterprises of Leo X.[2] Scarcely had he heard of Leo's death when he hastened from Milan to Rome. Arrived there on December 11, he immediately collected around him sixteen cardinals, for the most part young, who had received the purple on the occasion of the wholesale promotion.

Giulio Medici, candidate for the Papacy.

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 368. Despatch of December 11, n. 370, of December 24, 1521.

[2] *Uomo di grande ingegno e cuore: e il papa faceva quello che lui voleva*: Gradenigo's Report, 1523, in Albéri, p. 68.

Charles desired his elevation. Besides his hostile attitude to France, his wealth and also his alliance with Florence weighed heavily in the balance. For the new Pope would find the treasury of the Camera empty ; the acknowledged debts of Leo X. amounted to 850,000 ducats, the unknown perhaps to 300,000.[1] The older cardinals, however, enemies of the dead pope, opposed the election of his cousin, and the fear that it would make the Papacy hereditary in the Florentine house was also taken into account. Even before the conclave it was evident that Medici had twenty votes against him ; he promised Manuel, however, that if he himself were out of the question, he would give his vote in favour of another imperial candidate.[2] As such the ambassador proposed Adrian of Utrecht, who was at the time governor for Charles in Spain.

Conclave, Dec. 28, 1521.

On December 28, 1521, thirty-nine cardinals entered the conclave, while the wits of Rome busied themselves in covering Pasquino's statue with scathing epigrams on each of the electors.[3] The cardinals swore to the bull of Julius II. against

[1] Manuel writes again on January 8, 1522, that Medici's election was to be desired because the new pope would be very poor, but adds that the election was not possible : *Calendar*, *ut supra*, n. 374. —See the letters of Abbati to Robertet of February 7, 1552, which show that the Emperor supported Medici ; Molini, *Docum.*, i. 152.

[2] *Calendar*, *ut supra*, n. 371. Despatch of December 28, 1521. Manuel says that since Farnese was suspected, he had sent his second son as hostage for his fidelity to Naples. These despatches give us a clear idea of the intrigues connected with a papal election.

[3] A series of these pasquinades is to be found in the MS. History of Siena by Tizio. From henceforth such effusions are seldom lacking on the occasion of a Conclave.

simoniacal elections, and yet all, as the Venetian ambassador wrote, unblushingly canvassed for the Papacy. The contest was brisk and long remained undecided. Even on January 6 Manuel did not know who would be successful; a Frenchman was still possible. In this case, the ambassador wrote to Charles, it would be advisable to make peace with France. The same day Farnese counted the greatest number of votes; had Egidius and Colonna given theirs in his favour he would have become pope.[1]

All the rest, especially Soderini, all the Romans, especially Pompeo Colonna, were opposed to Medici, who, faithful to his promise, tried to win suffrages for Adrian.[2] The Cardinal of Tortosa was scarcely known in Rome even by name. He was played like a card at chance, and he won the game. On January 9 it was discovered that he had the same number of votes (15) as Farnese. Medici fought on his side. Caetano, who had heard his piety and learning extolled in Germany, recommended him in consideration of the Lutheran heresy, and the same day the unknown foreigner was elected

[1] Of Farnese it was said: "Whatever he has been, he is now thought a virtuous and well-disposed man." John Clerk's Report of the Conclave to Wolsey, in Brewer's "Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.," London, 1867, iii. 2, n. 1460; and in Sir Henry Ellis, "Original Letters illustrative of Engl. Hist.," London, 1846, i. 304.

[2] Molini, *ut supra.* In his letter to Adrian on March 26, 1522, Manuel accurately describes the relations of the parties: Gachard, *Corresp. de Charles Quint et d'Adrien VI.*, Brussels, 1859, p. 55.

Adrian VI. Pope, 1522-1523.

pope by every vote but one.[1] When the unheard-of occurrence was made known and it was announced that an absent cardinal, a "barbarian," a poor dependant on the emperor, a man from whom no one could expect a favour, was elected pope, the entire conclave fell a prey to panic. To cover their scandalous conduct the cardinals talked of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.[2] The election over, Medici with trembling hand wrote to the Marchese Gonzaga, "I will not fail to inform your Excellency how the Cardinal is at this moment proclaimed Pope I will write his name on the address."[3]

Indignation in Rome at his election.

The whole of Rome raised a cry of indignation. The populace hissed the electors, when with downcast eyes they crossed the Bridge of S. Angelo, and smilingly Gonzaga thanked the bystanders for resting satisfied with contemptuous speeches instead of avenging the public disgrace by throwing stones.[4]

[1] The dissentient vote was that of Franciotto Orsini: Jovius, *Vita Hadriani.*

[2] "But," says Guicciardini, "would not the Holy Ghost have hesitated to enter souls so stained by ambition and sensuality?" xiv. 353.

[3] *Io non ho voluto manchare: Di fare riverencia A v. ex^cia con questa mia e Anche dare aviso como in questo ponto E publicato papa El Car^le: io mettaro in fora il nome Alla Bonna gracia di v. Ex^tia Baxandovi le ma quanto piu posso ex corde mi richomando in Roma A. di D. V. E. Ill^ma et ex^ma S. humile e fido serv. el canale vo di medici.* Outside: *Allo Ill^mo ex^mo signor mio el signor marcheso di mantoa mio ob^mo signor in qsto ponto e stato publichato papa el carle dertusensis fiamigo di genaio* 1521 *in roma a di VIIII. In campo.* The note is evidently written in haste. The original is in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] Jovius, *Vita Hadr. VI.—Et se incontrammo in tutti li cortigiani*

Notices announcing "Rome is to let" were posted on houses.[1] And in this temper the city of Leo X. greeted the election of a man, who, after the long series of impious pope-kings, would have been honoured by apostles and saints as a worthy successor of S. Peter. The imperial party alone rejoiced. If Medici announced the election to the Marchese Gonzaga with laconic reluctance, Manuel triumphantly wrote to the same Captain General of the Church: "To-day at the twentieth hour our Lord God in His grace has given us the Cardinal of Tortosa as Pope, and this he is by favour of the King. God be for ever praised, since, for the peace and the growth of the Church as well as the power of the King, there can be no one better fitted than this pope, who is a holy man and a creature of His Imperial Majesty."[2]

Joy of the imperialist party.

palatini et molti oficiali che piangevano stridavano biestemavano et se disperavano: Maredini to Giustiniano Contarini, Rome, January 9, 1552 (M. Sanuto, xxxii. fol. 248). The whole of Rome was filled with tears and maledictions. Berni, in the chapter *Contro a Papa Adriano*, ridicules the election in the most vulgar way. *Opere burlesche*, i. 66. Several jeering sonnets were written. One begins,

O del sangue di christo traditore
Ladro collegio chel bel vaticano
Alla tedescha rabbia hai posto in mano
Come per doglia non ti scoppia el cuore—

[1] *Onde fu scritto su per le case: Roma est locanda.* Report of Gradenigo of May 9, 1523; in Albéri, p. 74.

[2] *Ill^mo Sor Hoge circa le XX hore nostro S. Dio per soa benigna clementia ne ha dato il nro Cardinal di Tortosa per Papa: Et e stato facto con favor del Rey: el p^to signor de tucti ne sia sempre laudato. . . . Accio V. S. partecipe de la alegria mi ha parso significarcelo per la pnte et con diligentia. Et felicis^e valeat D. V. Cui me commendo. Rome VIIII Jan. MDXXII. Don Juan Manuel.* Original in the Gonzaga Archives.

Career of Adrian VI.

The unfortunate man, on whom had fallen the lot of becoming the successor of Leo X., was a Fleming of low origin, Adrian Dedel, son of a ship-carpenter Florisz Boyens Dedel of Utrecht, where the boy was born on March 2, 1459.[1] The humble circumstances of his childhood recall those of Adrian IV., his predecessor in the twelfth century. He studied at Louvain as a foundationer at the same time that Luther was earning his bread as a chorister at Erfurt.[2] Owing to the favour of Margaret, Regent of Flanders, he received first a vicarage, then a canonry at Louvain, and finally became Vice-Chancellor of the university there. Maximilian chose the pious scholar as tutor to his grandson Charles, whose education had been confided to the celebrated statesman William of Croy, lord of Chievres. The future emperor did not do his tutor any great honour, for Adrian was unable to impart to him a sufficient knowledge of Latin; the tutor nevertheless succeeded in imbuing his pupil with strong Catholic principles.[3] Chievres, jealous of his influence, soon removed him to Spain, whither Maximilian sent him to the aged Ferdinand in 1515, in order that he might secure the succession to Charles.[4] Here Adrian was rewarded with the

[1] *Gerardi Moringhi Vita Hadriani VI.*, c. 6; Burmann, *Analecta Historica de Hadr. VI.*, Utrecht, 1727. Some said that his father kept a beershop, perhaps in derision of the Pope's partiality for this drink. Novaes, *Vita di Hadr.*—Berni in his satire calls him *figliuol d'un cimator di panni lini.*—Höfler, *Papst Adrian VI.*, Vienna, 1880.

[2] Bucholtz, *Gesch. der Reg. Ferdinand's I.*, Vienna, 1831, ii. 3.

[3] Heuter, *Rerum Austriac.*, c. 1.

[4] Sandoval, *Vida y Hechos del Emperator Carlos V.*, Pampeluna, 1634, i. 28.

bishopric of Tortosa, and finally, on the Emperor's recommendation, was made Cardinal of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. On Charles's succession to the Spanish throne he bestowed the highest honours on his tutor. During his absence in Germany after his election he appointed him regent of Spain, and without possessing the talents of a statesman, Adrian by his clemency succeeded in tranquillising the disturbed country.

Charles V. received the astounding tidings of the election of his favourite at Brussels on January 20, 1522; on the 26th he thanked the Sacred College for the "favour" they had shown him.[1] As for the Pope-elect himself, he heard of his elevation at Vittoria in Biscaja, and was more terrified than pleased. Several cardinals immediately strove to win his favour in advance, representing themselves as the instruments of his election, and depicting their colleagues in the blackest colours. Carvajal wrote that he had set the papal crown upon his head, while Manuel had been his opponent; Medici, who had gone to Florence on January 11, accused the same ambassador of having written to the emperor that Adrian owed his election to the Colonna. The new pope was besieged with requests and counsels.

Adrian VI. in Spain.

On January 9, 1522, the Sacred College informed him of his elevation and of the departure of the

[1] *Ut nulla dies interventura sit que hujus beneficii memoriam e sensu nostro evellat: Dat. Brussellis XXVI. Jan.* 1522: M. Sanuto, vol. xxxii. fol. 312. The letter was immediately printed in Rome.

Cardinals Colonna, Orsini, and Cesarini, and begged him without delay to come to Rome, where the perplexed state of the city demanded his presence.[1] Manuel wrote to him on January 11; advised him to lean on Medici, who was powerful and a partisan of the empire; and besides Medici, he told him he could also depend on Valle, Sitten and Campeggi. He suggested that the pope should call himself Adrian VI., all popes of the name of Adrian having been great men. Adrian I., said the envoy, had been the first to undertake a crusade against the Turks, "and I expect your Holiness to do the same."[2] If the former pupil of the professor of Louvain were better acquainted with the history of Rome than his envoy, the recollection of the intimate ties that had existed between Charles the Great and Adrian I. may have suggested the thought of similar relations between himself and the new pope, a thought that must have suggested itself to the mind of Adrian also. Charles sent his chamberlain Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to express his joy at the election and at the circumstance that by God's decree he was to receive the crown of the empire from a Spaniard and the teacher of his youth; the fortunes of both were inextricably allied; he would always look on the pope as his

[1] The instructions of the three Cardinals are given in the *Papiers d'état du Card. de Granvelle—publiés par Ch. Weiss*, Paris, 1841, i. 241.

[2] *Y el primero deste nombre tomó la empresa contra el Turco, como espero que V. S. la tomara: Corresp. de Charles V. et d'Adr.*, p. 7.

true father and protector.[1] Adrian's answer expressed like sentiments.

Charles was careful to represent the new pope, if not as his creature, at least as elected in deference to him; Adrian, however, with admirable tact, explained that he believed the cardinals had considered Charles in his election, but that he was glad to think that he had not obtained the Papacy at the emperor's request, since the act of his election must be stainless.[2] Nevertheless Adrian was filled with distrust of Manuel, who he believed had opposed him and who gave him advice, as if he were his protector. He complained of him to Charles. The envoy justified himself. He said that besides God, the King alone had made Adrian pope, that he had proposed him; that Medici had been in alliance with the imperialists; the French had striven to revoke his election.[3]

The annoyance of the cardinals was so great

[1] *Estamos determinados de correr una misma fortuna con él, teniendole por verdadero padre y protector nuestro. Ut supra*, p. 24.—*Et me semble que estant le papat en votre main, et l'empyre en la myeune, est pour faire par ensemble, beaucoup de bonnes et grandes choses: et doit estre une mesme chose et unanime des deux.* K. Lanz, *Correspondenz des Kais. Karl. V.*, Leipzig, 1844, i. Letter of March 7, 1522, Brussels.

[2] *Soyes asseure, que jay este cause de votre dite election.* Letter of the Emperor quoted above. Answer of the Pope from Saragossa, May 3; *ibid.*, n. 33.

[3] Gachard, *Correspond.*, *ut supra*, p. 43, 45 *sq.* *Despues de Dios, solo el rey os ha hecho papa.*—The partisans of France were: Volterra, Colonna, Orsini, Ancona, Fiesco, Como, Cavaillon, Monte, Aracoeli, De Grassi, Grimani, Cornaro. Not favourable: S. Croce, Vich, Teano, Pisano. In favour of Adrian: Medici, Valle, Sion, Campeggi, Cesarini, Cesi, Farnese.

that they actually attempted to revoke it. At first they hoped that Adrian would not accept the tiara. It was then reported that he was dead or that he would not come to Rome. Many feared a second Avignon in Spain. Manuel wrote to Charles that it was highly necessary that Adrian should come to Rome, where everything was in a state of anarchy; the Cardinals were robbing the Vatican at their pleasure and had already carried off all valuables, even the silver plate from the sacristy.[1] The palace had been already sacked after Leo's death; his collection of gems was missing, his sister Madonna Lucrezia, wife of Jacopo Salviati, one of the Pope's principal creditors, having cleverly appropriated it.[2]

Adrian deferred his journey, because Charles wished for an interview, and consequently determined to come to Spain; the equipment of the vessels in Barcelona was also a cause of delay. He wrote from Vittoria, on February 19, to the Senate and people of Rome that he would come as soon as the fleet was ready, and he sent William Enkevort to the cardinals as his procurator. Months passed, while the greatest disunion prevailed in the Cardinals' College, and universal confusion reigned throughout Italy. To the revolutions in Urbino and the Romagna, in Perugia and elsewhere, to the attempts of Francesco Maria on Siena, and of the Bentivogli and Guido Rangone

[1] Despatch of February, *Calendar of Letters*, n. 384, 385, 392. And Manuel's letter to Adrian, March 26, 1522, in Gachard, p. 55.

[2] *Sgombrô il palazzo di tutto*: Report of Luigi Gradenigo, p. 71.

on Bologna, was added the war of the League in Lombardy. The Landsknechts under Frundsberg defeated the Swiss forces in a hard-fought battle at Bicocca on April 27, 1522, when the generals of the league Prospero Colonna, Pescara and Sforza forced Marshal Lautrec to retreat to France. Genoa, where Ottaviano Fregoso and Pedro Navarro —now in the service of the French—lay with 5000 Corsicans, was taken on May 30. The magnificent city suffered a ruthless sack. The landsknechts used their spears to measure the stuffs, the silk and velvet which they had stolen. Spaniards and Germans grew rich on the spoils.[1] When the French army at length left Italy in July, the fortresses of Milan and Cremona were all that remained to Francis I., while the Empire again entered on possession of its rights over North Italy. Antonio Adorno was reinstated as Doge in Genoa, and both there and in Milan vassals of the Empire now ruled.

Lautrec defeated by the League at Bicocca, April 27, 1522.

The Romans demanded the arrival of the Pope, without whose presence the city would be reduced to a desert.[2] The Sacred College was divided into factions. The partisans of the French, headed by Soderini, carried on negotiations with France. In vain a junta of three cardinals, who were changed every month, tried to maintain order.

[1] See Reissner, and Bizarus, lib. xix. 454, who extols the humanity of Prospero and blames Pescara. It was with difficulty that the celebrated emerald cup of the Graal in the Cathedral was rescued.

[2] *Perchè Roma senza la presenza dei Pontefici e piuttosto simile a una solitudine, che a una città*: Guicciardini, xv. 379.

Anarchy in Rome.

Colonna and Orsini were at variance; a band of Neapolitans committed atrocities that went unpunished; their captain even stood under the protection of the Orsini of Monte Giordano.[1] In June young Sigismondo Varano of Camerino, whose wife was niece of Cardinal Colonna, was attacked and murdered in Storta.[2] In Tuscany and Umbria, in Todi, Terni and Spoleto the Orsini faction stood in arms. Corsicans in the pay of Renzo of Ceri committed highway robberies at Baccano; and the Colonna consequently held a family council at Cave, consulting how to proceed against the Orsini. Pestilence broke out in June. Thousands died; thousands took to flight. On this occasion a curious incident showed how deeply paganism was implanted in the people: Demetrius, a Greek, paraded the city with a bull which he professed to have tamed by spells, and, according to ancient custom, sacrificed the animal in the Colosseum to appease the hostile demons. His action terrified the clergy; they on their side instituted a penitential procession to appease the God of the Christians. An innumerable crowd marched through the streets, scourging themselves and crying "Misericordia."

Pestilence in Rome.

[1] These facts are related by the Orator of Ferrara and by Betinelli Nicola in a letter to Lorenzo Salviati-Medici, Rome, June 10, 1522. Archives of Florence, *Carte Strozz.*, fil. 338, n. 107. On July 15, two Neapolitans with the brigand-like names of Paternostro and Avemaria were condemned and quartered. They confessed to having murdered 116 men. It was said that a raven always accompanied them and alighted where they stopped. Negri to Michieli, *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 104.

[2] Castiglione to the Marchese Federigo, Rome, June 27, 1522. Gonzaga Archives.

Thus Rome relapsed out of paganism into the darkest times of the Middle Ages.[1]

Adrian VI. journeys to Rome.

Not until July 8 was the Pope able to leave Tortosa, nor did he put to sea until August 7, when he sailed from Tarragona with fifty vessels, which carried 4000 soldiers, several prelates and courtiers, and some ambassadors. With him was also Aleander the Nuncio, who had acquired notoriety at the Diet of Worms. Everyone was surprised that Adrian did not await the arrival of Charles V., and that when the Emperor landed at Santander he even sent excuses for not going to meet him. In France men saw in this act of independence a sign that the new pope had determined to remain impartial. He anchored in the harbour of Genoa, where Prospero, Pescara and Duke Sforza greeted him and implored him for absolution for the sack of the city. But Adrian answered in horror: "I neither can, nor should, nor will give it." At Leghorn he was received by Cardinals Medici, Piccolomini, Petrucci, Ridolfi and the papal Generalissimo Federigo Gonzaga. On August 28 the fleet reached Ostia. But as no horses were forthcoming here, several prelates drove to Rome on wretched carts, and many even made the journey on foot.[2]

[1] The Colosseum was regarded as the seat of demons; we may recall the scene described by Cellini. Bizarus, *Hist. Gen.*, lib. xix. 456, says concerning the sacrificer of the bull: *nec credulae multitudinis spem prorsus fefellit, cum ab ea inanis sacrificii prospera litatione mitescere morbus coepisset.*—Negri to Michieli, August 15, 1522, *Lett. di Princ.*, i. 106.—Adrian promulgated a *Sanctio in magos* in consequence.

[2] The entire journey is described by Ortiz, *Itinerarium Hadriani.*

Adrian's entry into Rome, Aug. 29, 1522.

Eight cardinals accompanied the Pope on horseback to S. Paul's, where he spent the night. On Friday, August 29, the Curia went to greet him. He received the homage of the cardinals, thanked them for the confidence they had shown in electing him, excused his late arrival, and begged them as a favour to promise not to shelter outlaws in their palaces and to renounce the right of sanctuary in deference to the law. The Romans had begun to erect a triumphal arch at the gate of S. Paul: Adrian forbade it; such triumphs were pagan, not Christian. The expenses of the entry were consequently small; pestilence had devastated Rome; Leo X. had ruined the Curia. Half the members had fled from the city; Castiglione called Rome "a sacked abbey."[1] How different were Adrian's entry and coronation from the festivals of his predecessor! Courtiers jeered; "barbarism was making its entry into Rome." That the Pope came, however, in spite of pestilence made a favourable impression on the people.[2] He was even received with shouts of joy; many women wept.

As Adrian VI. entered the voluptuous city of Leo X. he may have been assailed by feelings such as were experienced by Gregory XI. and Urban V., the

[1] Despatch to the Marchese Federigo, Rome, August 16, 1522: *Roma pare una Abatia spogliata*: Gonzaga Archives.

[2] The pestilence only disappeared in 1523. In the Florence Archives *Carte Strozziane*, filza 243, p. 165, I found a notice: *Roma peste del* 1522, *nota de morti di decembre*. On December 2 the greatest number of victims was in the Rione Eustachio, where there were ten deaths; the highest in the whole of Rome was that on December 15, when there were thirty-seven.

Avignonese popes, who, like him, had arrived by way of Ostia. But while they shuddered at the abject poverty in which the city was steeped, Adrian was dismayed by its pagan splendour; his predecessors were affrighted by the savage and defiant but still republican inhabitants; Adrian by the sight of a people enslaved in indolence, and still more by the swarms of rapacious Curiali and the arrogant and corrupt prelacy.

This vicious city of Leo X. the Flemish ascetic came to reform, and to make it once more Christian. The Church he found metamorphosed into a luxurious Curia; the priests of the Lord into profane courtiers. In Spain he had declared he would provide the Church with men, not men with churches. "But only let this well-meaning pope drink from the Roman Lethe, and we shall then enquire into his religious intentions. Nature suffers no violent transformation, and the Curia is more corrupt than ever before."[1]

His coronation, Aug. 30, 1522.

On August 30 Adrian was crowned without pomp on the steps of S. Peter's. He reluctantly made his abode in the Vatican; infinitely would he have preferred to dwell in a convent or some ordinary house. The Romans heard with amazement that before his arrival the Pope had written ordering that a simple house with a garden should be prepared for him.[2] To him the finest palace in the

[1] *Ma dubito, che, come beva di questo fiume Leteo, non mandi in oblivione tutti questa santi pensieri. . . . Lettere di Princ.*, i. 98.

[2] Manuel to Charles, March 1, 1522. *Calendar*, n. 392. The ambassador did not understand the Pope's reasons, "since God had given him the most beautiful palace in Rome."

world appeared as the seat of a new paganism. At every step he encountered revolting memories of the Borgia, the Rovere, the Medici. The laughter with which the palace had formerly echoed, when at the orders of Leo X. the Calandra and other indecent comedies had been recited, seemed to reach his ears. As he surveyed the sumptuous halls, on whose walls he beheld the beautiful figures of Olympus, and in whose galleries he surveyed the nude statues of paganism, he sighed with S. Bernard: "Here art thou the successor of Constantine, not of S. Peter." The figure of Adrian VI., in immediate contrast to Leo X., and against the storm-lighted background of the German Reformation, is one of the most tragic in all the history of the Papacy.

2. Character of Adrian VI.—Enkefort and other Flemings — Attempts at Reform — Tiene and Caraffa — Recall of Manuel — The Duke of Sessa, Charles's Ambassador—Lannoy, Viceroy in Naples—Unfortunate position of Adrian—Failure of his Attempts at Reform—Progress of the Reformation — Chieregati — The Diet of Nuremberg—Fall of Rhodes—Adrian seeks to Preserve his Neutrality — Intrigues of Soderini—Adrian joins the League of the Emperor—Beginning of the Campaign of Francis I. — Bourbon's Treason — Death of Adrian VI., September 1523.

Adrian VI. was a handsome and dignified man, sedate and serious and at the same time affable.

He talked little; did not speak Italian at all, and Latin with an accent barbarous to Italian ears. His life remained what it had been in his home, that of a saint. The Pope, Venetians wrote, rises long before daybreak, prays, then sleeps again until dawn, reads mass and remains several hours in prayer, afterwards has mass said by his chaplain and then gives audiences. He is monosyllabic. On every occasion great or small he first answers "*videbimus.*" He is determined to study a great deal every day, not simply to read, but to write and compose, and this diverts him from his official duties. He spends two ducats a day on his table; these he takes from his own pocket in the evening and hands them to his valet, saying "this is for to-morrow." A woman, whom he brought with him from his home, does his cooking and attends to his linen and sleeping room.[1]

Character of Adrian VI.

The Vatican became as silent as a convent. The swarms of parasites, poets, artists and scholars were no longer seen. The works begun by Raffaelle in the Sala di Constantino remained unfinished. Giulio Romano, Pierino del Vago, Giovanni da Udine, Sebastiano and others were left a prey to hunger, as Vasari with some exaggeration tells us. Adrian hated all *belles lettres*; he held in reverence the purity of the Latin language, but would not have anything to do with artificers in verse. To Jovius alone he gave the bishopric

Adrian VI. in antagonism with Rome.

[1] Journey of the Venetian orators to render obedience in 1523, in Albéri, ii. iii. 113. See also the note by Gar, p. 125, which contains the brief sketch of the Pope taken from Sanuto, vol. xxxiii.

of Como, Jovius being a historian, not a poet. The Terenziani, the actors and court poets of Leo X., even the renowned Marone were ignominiously driven from the Vatican. The Academicians wandered into exile or hid themselves. Sadoleto went to Carpentras, Castiglione to Mantua. After the sunshine of Leo X.'s reign, it seemed to the Latins as if Cimmerian darkness had fallen on Rome. The arid character of this scholastic pedant and the magnificent and liberal culture of the city were at utter and intolerable variance. There was no Italian of intellect and education who regarded Adrian's accession to the throne as other than the ruin of all noble culture. Even Bembo, who had left Rome before Leo's death, was of this opinion. Poets strewed the grave of the late Pope with verses full of longing regret for his golden age.[1] Others wrote the most vulgar satires on the foreigner who succeeded him.

Everything about Adrian, his parentage, his manners were antagonistic to the Romans. Instead of holding the cornucopiae of liberality, he stood in the Vatican with a saving-box in his hand. There was an outcry against his avarice when he checked the extravagance of the court. He found nothing but debts awaiting him; the treasury contained scarcely 3000 ducats. He was daily assailed by the creditors of his predecessor with

[1] On June 10, 1524, Bembo wrote to Cardinal Cibò from Padua: *avennero poco dappoi molte cose triste: la morte di Leone, la vacanza del Pontificato e la pienezza poi di lui, che vie peggior fù che la vacanza non era stata. Lettere*, Opp. iii. lib. iii. 21.

demands for payment. He dismissed the numerous servants of the palace. When the grooms sought his favour, he asked how many Leo had kept; and at the answer, "A hundred," crossed himself and said that four were sufficient. He had brought his own household with him; two servants fulfilled his necessary wants, "Flemings, stupid as if made of stone."[1] Enkefort, whom he speedily made datary, was his confidant, and Enkefort was under the influence of Cardinals Monte and Soderini. Adrian also bestowed his favour on John Winkel, his referendary, and on his secretary Dietrich Hesius. A German, born in Rome, named Peter also soon rose to influence; he entered the Pope's service as houseboy, became valet and began to rule Enkefort.[2] The Pope's secretary was Cisterer, a young man who was secretly in the service of the imperial ambassador, to whom he betrayed all his master's private affairs.

Flemings in the Vatican.

Gigantic tasks awaited Adrian. It behoved him to give peace to Italy, to reconcile the great powers, to carry out the crusade against the Turks, who had already stormed Belgrade; it was moreover necessary that he should subdue heresy in Germany and Switzerland, and give the Church the reform

[1] *Lett. di Princ.*, i. 108.—"He has three little boys, who serve him at table. They carry in the wretched viands in little pots and pans, as to a poor village priest." Printed pamphlet, *Wie der Heilig Vatter Bapst Adrianus eingeriten ist zu Rom. Auff den XXVIII. Tag des Monats Augusti Im Jahr* 1522. *Darbay ein gesprech von dreyen personen.* (In the Archigymnasium at Bologna.)

[2] Thus Sessa to Charles V., October 17, 1522. *Calendar of Letters*, ii. n. 490 *sq.*

which was to save her from ruin. He began with the attempt to purge the Dataria from the abuse of Indulgences and to institute improvements in the ecclesiastical administration. For this purpose he summoned to his side two religious-minded men, Gaetano Tiene, a native of Vicenza, and Giampietro Caraffa, whose acquaintance he had made in Spain and who afterwards became Paul IV.

Tiene and Caraffa.

The necessity for pacifying the State of the Church was also urgent. The Spaniards whom he had brought with him he sent to the Romagna, where they were to wrest Rimini from the Malatesta. When in Spain he had accorded Alfonso's envoys a friendly reception. And recognising that the Duke had been driven to war solely by the selfish policy adopted by his predecessor, he annulled the bull of Leo X., ratified Alfonso in possession of Ferrara, and even promised to restore him Reggio and Modena. In such wise—and for Charles V. this was of no little importance—was removed the motive of the alliance between the Duke and France.

Restoration of Alfonso of Ferrara.

Adrian's intention was not to side with any party, but to remain neutral; his most ardent wish was the war against the Turks. For months Soliman had been engaged in laying siege to Rhodes, the key to the Mediterranean. But the powers would not hear of peace. Already on June 19, 1522, Charles V. and Henry VIII. had drawn up at Windsor an alliance against France, and Charles hoped to induce the Pope to enter into a fresh league. Manuel, who had already received his recall because

he himself had urgently desired it, but who still remained in Rome awaiting the arrival of his successor, failed in all his efforts.[1] He had small respect for the Pope, whom he described to the Emperor as weak and undecided, calling him a niggard, devoid of all knowledge of business; on the occasion of the reception of the white palfrey, the customary tribute of Naples, he had behaved like a child.[2] He had carried on negotiations with France since his departure from Spain, and it was repugnant to him (Manuel) to render homage in the name of the Emperor to such a pope. He had consequently begged the Viceroy of Naples and the Duke of Sessa to do this in his place. Although after his arrival Adrian had shown a friendly disposition to the distinguished statesman, Manuel was nevertheless a thorn in his side. In petty resentment he spoke of the ambassador as an enemy to himself and the Church, and even asserted that Manuel's hostile attitude was due to the fact that, owing to his own elevation to the Papacy, Manuel had lost the 100,000 ducats which Farnese had promised in event of his elevation.[3] Manuel left Rome in anger on October 13,

Juan Manuel and Adrian VI.

[1] From Marino on September 30, 1522, he informs Gonzaga that the Emperor has at last consented to his return and recommends his successor. Original in the Gonzaga Archives. On November 5 Sessa wrote from Marino in Spanish to the same Marchese and offered him his services. *Ibid.*

[2] *Como un niño.* Despatch of October 8, 1522. *Calendar of Letters*, ii. n. 483. The white horse was presented on September 9, with 7000 ducats, and Adrian ratified Charles in possession of the kingdom of Naples: Raynald ad A. 1522, n. xvii.

[3] *Calend. of Letters*, ii. n. 504. Adrian to the Emperor, Rome,

and with the intention of effecting a rupture between the Pope and the Emperor.[1] His successor Don Luis de Corduba, the Duke of Sessa, continued the diplomatic negotiations, supported by Charles de Lannoy, who since the death of Cardona on March 10, 1522, had been viceroy of Naples.[2] This Netherlander, son of Jean De Lannoy, lord of Maingoval, born at Valenciennes about 1487, was Charles's acknowledged favourite and had been in service at court since 1515.[3] Charles had sent him to Naples out of consideration to Adrian, the Pope having been on friendly terms with Lannoy in Flanders. But Lannoy and Sessa met with the same difficulties as Manuel. They advised the emperor first to gain Enkefort and to bribe Adrian's attendants, his chamberlains and secretaries. Sessa found the Pope himself entirely changed, grown pale and thin.[4]

Sessa ambassador of the Emperor; Lannoy Viceroy of Naples.

The physical and moral atmosphere of Rome

November 21, 1522. Farnese repeated his attempts at bribery in the next Conclave.

[1] At the same time Cardinal Medici left Rome. Castiglione to Fed. Gonzaga, Rome, October 13, 1522. Gonzaga Archives. *Il quale* (Manuel) *si parti mezzo disperato: Lett. di Princ.*, i. 109, December 10, 1522. He had declined the office of viceroy in Naples: Castiglione to Fed. Gonzaga, Rome, April 8, 1522, *Lett. di Negozi*, i. i. 22.

[2] Don Luis de Corduba had received Sessa through his wife Donna Elvira, only daughter of Gonsalvo.

[3] *Charles de Lannoy, vice-roi de Naples, et Charles Quint*, par M. Theod. de Juste, in the *Bulletin de l'académie de Belgique*, 2. Série xxxiv., 1867, p. 374.

[4] Despatch of November 20, 1522, *Calendar of Letters*, ii. n. 502. Enkefort afterwards received the bishopric of Tortosa from the Emperor.

affected his health; the hindrances which his noble aims encountered bowed him down. His character was utterly out of harmony with the subtle arts of Italy and the intrigues of courtiers, whose actions were entirely based on crafty and calculating selfishness. He determined not to drink of the Lethe of Rome. He made no approaches to any cardinal, except perhaps to Campeggi, who dwelt in the Vatican. He distrusted all Italians, and as the Flemings did not understand how to deal with the circumstances existing in Rome, he was almost invariably betrayed. There were undoubtedly earnest men who recognised the need for reform, such as Egidius, Caraffa, Giberti and Chieregati, but these isolated influences were not sufficient. According to Adrian's view no prelate ought to hold more than one benefice; the sale of offices, favours, the traffic in bulls, the system of protection were to cease; in short, Simon Magus was to be driven from his accustomed seat. The Pope began by making a good example. He had given a benefice of seventy ducats to one of his nephews in Spain; the nephew asked for more; the Pope gave him another of 100 ducats, but deprived him of the first. In Rome this severity towards relations was judged hard and cruel.[1] Thousands asked for benefices of which they held the reversions, and for which they had paid. In the time of Leo X. offices had been sold to the value of nearly three million ducats, which yielded 348,000 ducats of revenue

Unsuccessful attempts of Adrian VI. to reform the Curia.

[1] *Erga propinquos usque ad notam naturae subagrestis, durus et illiberalis*: Jovius.

and gave posts to 2550 people.[1] When Adrian by a bull annulled all reversions, he offended more than the thousands concerned. An indignant native of Piacenza lay in wait for him one day in order to murder him; failing in his design, the man plunged the dagger into his own breast.[2] When the Pope tried to curb the system of indulgences, the revenues of the Dataria and the chancery, he only evoked a storm of indignation. "Rome is no longer Rome. Freed from one pestilence, we have fallen a prey to a greater. This Pope knows no one; not a single donation is to be seen, all is despair."[3] Adrian soon recognised that the removal of abuses in the Curia was an impossibility; they were too deeply rooted, and on them rested a great part of the papal power. Lorenzo Pucci, the wealthy Cardinal of SS. Quattro, in all financial arts the evil genius of Leo X., fought energetically in favour of the system of indulgences, and others urged so many practical remonstrances that Adrian found himself involved in endless doubts.

These princes of the Church looked only with irony on the pedant in the Vatican. In defiance of him they hunted, gambled and caroused exactly as of old. When the Venetian orators came to Rome to render obedience, Cornaro, an enthusiastic sportsman, took his uncle Matteo Dandolo on a

[1] Gradenigo's report of May 4, 1523; in Albéri, p. 72.

[2] Jovius, *Vita Hadr. VI.*

[3] *E Dio voglia, che presto non fuggiamo in Avignone—ad ultimum Oceanum alla Patria del Papa*: Negri to Michieli, *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 113.

hunting expedition, in which more than 100 horsemen took part. The Cardinal rode a valuable Andalusian horse. He invited the Venetians to a banquet in his house, when no fewer than seventy-five courses of various dishes, served with the greatest rapidity, were placed on the table. The company dined off magnificent and massive silver. The most accomplished musicians performed on lutes, violins, and lyres, and there was singing both in and outside the palace. Less sumptuous was the banquet given by Grimani in the Palazzo Venezia, where, on account of the day being Saturday, only fish was eaten. It was remarked, however, that a single sturgeon cost eighteen ducats, and the variety of noble wines was innumerable. The guests remained six hours at table. Such were the banquets of the cardinals, while the noble Pope every evening handed a ducat to his servant, saying "this is for to-morrow."[1] Adrian and the court of luxurious prelates were satires on one another.

His actions also were considered outrageous. Instead of issuing indulgences to equip the fleet for the Turkish war, he imposed tithes on the State of the Church and laid a tax of half a ducat on every hearth. The measure aroused indignation.

[1] *Viaggio degli Oratori Veneti che andarono a Roma a dar l'Obbedienza a P. Adriano VI.*, A. 1523 (Albéri, p. 103) : a pleasantly written account. The orators, Marco Dandolo, Antonio Giustiniani, Luigi Mocenigo, Pietro Pesaro dwelt in the Palazzo Orsini on Monte Giordano.—Jovius made fun of Adrian because he ate merluzzo (cod), a cheap fish, *ridente toto foro piscario*, and the Pope was called *sicuti in administranda republica hebetis ingenii vel depravati judicii, ita in esculentis insulsissimi gustus—De Piscib. romanis*, c. i.

Intelligent men recognised his uprightness and conscientiousness, but smiled at his ignorance of Rome. "We may say of him what Cicero said of Cato; he acts like a lawgiver in Plato's ideal state, not like one among the robber people of Romulus."[1] His position was no less unfortunate than that of Paschalis, "the good Pope," in earlier days. He was made the target for malicious wit and the object of shameful calumny.[2] Conscious of his weakness, he was wounded by the satires of the Romans which Julius had made light of. One day he was so enraged by the witty attacks of the unbridled Pasquin, that he wished to throw this marble gossip into the Tiber, but the Duke of Sessa smilingly informed him that even in the deepest waters Pasquin would continue to talk as a frog. It was perhaps this speech that saved the celebrated torso and brought the Duke into favour with the Romans.[3] When shown the group of the Laocoon, Adrian turned away, saying: "Those are the idols of pagans." He closed the Belvedere, building up all the doors but one, and to this access could only be obtained through his own room. "I fear," wrote Negri, "that the Pope will do what S. Gregory is

Adrian VI. an object of satire in Rome.

[1] *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 114.

[2] Berni heaped derision on him and his manner of life:

Ecco che personaggi, ecco che corte,
Che brigate galanti cortigiane,
Copis, Vincl, Corizio, e Trincheforte (Enkefort)
Nomi da fare sbigottire un cane—

Opere burlesche, i. 66.

[3] *Subdens Pasquillum vel in imo vado, ranarum more, non esse taciturum.* Jovius, *Vita Hadr. VI.*

said to have done, that he will have all these statues, the living witnesses to the greatness and glory of the Romans, reduced to lime for building S. Peter's."

If Adrian was incapable of reforming his immediate surroundings, how was it possible for him to reform the Church itself? How control the schism that divided the Church in Germany? From the time of the Diet of Worms Luther had remained hidden in the Wartburg, but his writings showed that his bold spirit was still alive. In March 1522 he reappeared fearlessly among the people; he went to Wittenberg. No one ventured to carry out the Edict of Worms; no one dared lay hands on the great man, who ruled the intellect of Germany. The movement made powerful strides; convents dissolved themselves; priests took wives; the mass was abolished.

Progress of the Reformation.

When Germany rose to throw off the yoke of Rome the Papacy could no longer check the apostasy of a nation, as if it were a rebellion. The Papacy was itself morally shattered and shaken to its foundations. Learning, printing, enlightenment and criticism, the force of public opinion, ecclesiastical as well as national requirements furnished the German Reformation with invincible weapons. The Roman Church possessed none stronger or so strong. She therefore tried to pacify Germany by bold and practical reforms. The Pope wished to tranquillise the Lutheran quarrel by upright means, and to effect a compromise with its doctrines. The cardinals laughed at the idea. "No one," said Soderini, "has ever yet stifled heresy by reforms;

it has been killed by crusades and by stirring up princes and peoples against it."[1] If ever a Pope recognised the faults of his predecessor, it was Adrian VI. He hated Luther as a heretic, and yet saw that the causes of his heresy lay not in him—a single man—but in the entire condition of the Church, and were rooted in the abuse of the spiritual power.

The Diet had assembled at Nuremberg on account of the danger to which Hungary was exposed after the fall of Belgrade. By a brief couched in the most violent language, Adrian exhorted the States to proceed against Luther and to give effect to the imperial edict. And as in former days Frederick II. and Manfred had been associated with the Saracens as common enemies to Christianity, so was Luther now associated with the Sultan Soliman.[2] The Pope sent a distinguished man as nuncio to Nuremberg, Francesco Chieregati, Bishop of Teramo. In the memorable instructions which he gave him, the Pope expressed himself as follows. "We know that for years many abominable things have taken place on the Sacred Chair, abuses in spiritual matters, transgressions of the mandates, and that everything has been mischievously perverted. No wonder if the malady descends from the head to the limbs, from the Popes to the inferior prelates. We all and the clergy have strayed from our path; for a long

Adrian's instructions to Chieregati.

[1] Concerning Adrian's attempts at reform, see among others Sarpi, *Concil. Trident.*, i. c. 22 *sq.*

[2] Adrian compared Luther directly to Mohammed. Instruction to Chieregati, Raynald ad A. 1552, n. 68.

time no one has done right, no, not one. It is necessary therefore that we all render honour to God, humbling our souls before Him, and that each one examine whence he has fallen."[1] He commanded his legates to explain to the Diet that he would first reform the Roman Curia, "from which all this evil had proceeded," would only promote men of virtue in the Church, and would remove all abuses, all the more as the whole world anxiously awaited this Reformation. He assured them that he would rather have remained a private individual than become pope, and that he had only accepted the papal office out of fear of God and in consideration of the schism with which the Church was threatened.[2]

We must indeed search far back into the past to find a pope who had ascended the Sacred Chair with equally pure intentions. He often thought with longing regret of the times of Adrian I. and Charles the Great. And it seemed to him a dispensation of heaven that he should be pope while his pupil and countryman was emperor. Many hoped that the German schism might be appeased through their united means and by a Catholic

[1] Raynald, n. 70; Wolff, *Lection. Mem.*, ii. 203. This admission terrified the Papalists; Pallavicini cannot forgive the Pope for having made it: *santità fornita di picciol senno* (*Concil. di Trento*, ii. c. 7). The priests praised the tact shown by Leo X., who in his bull against Luther said, that if he (Luther) came to Rome, he would not discover such abuses as he believed to exist: Sarpi, *Concil. Trident.*, i. 26.

[2] *Subjicimus igitur colla summae dignitati, non ob dominandi libidinem, neque ad ditandos propinquos nostros, sed ad divine voluntati parendum, ad deformatam ejus sponsam Ecclesiam catholicam reformandam.* . . These instructions are Adrian's finest monument.

Diet at Nuremberg.

Reformation. But Adrian's proposals for pacification came too late. The States assembled at Nuremberg refused to execute the Edict of Worms as impracticable and calculated to provoke a civil war. For owing to Luther's teachings the German nation had become enlightened concerning the abuses of the Roman Curia. The States drew up the hundred accusations of the German people regarding the breach of the Concordats; they demanded a free Christian Council in some city of Germany, in order to determine "what was necessary to be done in divine, evangelical and other matters of common interest." Meanwhile neither Luther or his followers were to teach anything beyond the Holy Gospels and the authentic Scriptures according to true Christian understanding.[1] This judgment of the Diet was of immense importance; it decided the victory of the Reformation.

In profound dismay Adrian implored the princes, more particularly Frederick, no longer to protect Luther, to lend no support to heresy in Saxony, a country which had been converted to Christianity by Charles the Great. The elector sent the Internuncio away. Charles V. himself had no power over the States of the Empire; he also recognised that he might make the Reformation a source of diplomatic advantage. On October 31 he demanded from the Pope the concession of the annates and tithes for the Turkish war; he also promised to take decided steps against Luther's heresy.[2]

[1] Ranke, ii. cap. 2.

[2] Raynald, n. 56.

At Augsburg the States had already protested against the tithes for the war; pamphlets were circulated which alleged that it was merely a pretext for Roman extortions; that the Turks were to be found not in Asia, but in Rome. Luther himself gave utterance to these views. The powers effected nothing against the enemy of Christendom. In vain the knights of St. John implored the West to save the island of Rhodes; the Pope sent only three vessels, and these arrived too late. After a long and heroic defence, Rhodes fell, and the dreaded Soliman made his way across heaps of corpses into this bulwark of Christianity on the sacred festival of Christmas. This was a fatal blow to Adrian. To his procrastination the misfortune was boldly ascribed, as the fall of Byzantium had been ascribed to Nicholas V. The Knights had held possession of the island since 1309; they left Rhodes on January 1, 1523, when the remains of their valiant company took ship under Philip Valliers de l'Isle Adam, master of the order, and sailed by way of Candia for Italy. They landed at Baiae at the end of June, and in July the Grand Master made his sorrowful entry into Rome.[1]

Fall of Rhodes.

The knights of St. John come to Italy.

Adrian saw nothing around him but ruin. He now endeavoured to pledge the Emperor, France and England to a truce, but was unsuccessful in this also, for Francis I. would neither abandon his claims on Milan or Naples, nor Charles V.

[1] They were 4000 strong when they left Rhodes: Bosio, *Storia della Militia—di S. Giovanni Gieros.*, p. i. lib. xx., at the end.

renounce the league against the King. And the Emperor was already about to entice Venice and Ferrara to his side, while he hoped at last to induce the Pope to enter the league. On November 29 he concluded a treaty with Alfonso; he gave him the investiture of his States, took him under his imperial protection and promised him the restitution of Modena and Reggio, which were fiefs of the Empire. His envoy Girolamo Adorno was negotiating in his interests in Venice, supported by the English orator Richard Pace. But Adrian once more refused his consent to any act hostile to France. At the beginning of 1523 he succeeded in tranquillising the Romagna and in forcing the Malatesta to the renunciation of Rimini. Francesco Maria now also hastened to Rome, where on March 27 the Pope reinvested him with Urbino and also restored him to the Prefecture of the city. Modena and Reggio, however, he refused to surrender to Alfonso, but the Duke was reinstated in all his other rights.

In the meantime an incident made so great an impression on Adrian that he yielded to the Emperor's wishes. In the course of time he had become more intimate with one of the cardinals, Francesco Soderini, the head of the French party and the bitter enemy of Medici, who remained in Florence and there ruled the State. Soderini had just framed a conspiracy against the life of the cardinal, which was, however, discovered. He carried on negotiations with the Court of France, and planned a crusade against Florence, and an

Conspiracy of Cardinal Soderini.

attack on Sicily, where Francis I. was to send a fleet. Letters which he wrote to his nephew Giuliano Soderini, Bishop of Saintes, fell into the hands of Medici, and through him into those of the Duke of Sessa. The result was that the Pope summoned Medici—whom he disliked—to Rome. He entered accompanied by 2000 horsemen and was received by the whole Curia, the nobles and many of the populace, even by former enemies such as Petrucci and Baglioni and by the Duke of Urbino, who was then dwelling in the Palazzo Venezia. In Medici, the most influential man in the Sacred College, the Romans already greeted the future pope. His court in the Cancellaria seemed the true papal palace. Adrian received the cardinal with great marks of distinction, conversed with him and consented to the fall of his adversary. On April 27 he summoned Medici, Sessa and Soderini to the Vatican; a stormy scene followed; the three came to a hot argument, and the accused cardinal defended himself. By Adrian's orders he was taken by the captain of the guard to S. Angelo.[1] The aged Soderini, mindful of the catastrophe in Leo X.'s time, believed that his last hour had come; he refused nourishment until the castellan shared it with him. He was interrogated by three cardinals, who showed him the greatest forbearance, but his avowals convicted him of high treason.[2]

Cardinal Medici comes to Rome.

Soderini brought to trial.

[1] *El ditto Card. andava mezo morto senza far alcuna parola.* Despatch of the agent Angelo Germanelli to the Marchese of Mantua, Rome, April 27, 1523: Gonzaga Archives.

[2] Clerk to Wolsey, Rome, June 11, 1523. He describes the

The Duke of Sessa even advised the Emperor to demand the execution of the traitor.

Breach of the Pope with France.

These disclosures produced a breach between the Pope and France. Scarcely had Francis I. learnt of the imprisonment of the cardinal, when he recalled his ambassador from Rome and sent the papal nuncio to prison. Adrian now gave ear to the representations of Lannoy and Sessa. News arrived of the preparations made by the King and of his resolve to return to Italy, where nothing remained to him but strong Cremona. The Pope found himself painfully embarrassed. He was already believed to be dying. On July 13 Charles wrote to his ambassador that, in case of Adrian's death, he was to do everything in his power to procure the election of Medici.[1] Was Adrian to renounce his highest convictions, to associate himself as his predecessors had done with a party intent on war? His exhortations to Francis I. were unavailing. The utmost the King would do was to consent to a two months' truce. To the threat of the ban he replied that he would treat Adrian as Philip had formerly treated Boniface VIII. To Adrian he appeared the sole hindrance to the Turkish war, and with a sorrowful heart the Pope decided to join the alliance with Charles and England.

The Emperor rejoiced. Venice under her Doge Andrea Gritti also went over to him. The league

Cardinal (with exaggeration) as a devil who had entirely ensnared the Pope: *State Papers*, vol. vi., *King Henry VIII.*, p. v. 122.

[1] Gachard, *Corresp.*, p. 192: *Calend. of Letters*, ii. n. 562.

between Charles, the Archduke Ferdinand, England, Milan and Venice was only concluded on July 29, when Medici and the Viceroy, who had hurried from Naples, overcame the remaining hesitation of the Pope, so that he joined the alliance on August 3, 1523. On the following day this league for the protection of Italy against all enemies was solemnly proclaimed in S. Maria Maggiore. Cardinal Pompeo, the head of the Imperialists, gave a banquet to the ambassadors and cardinals in his palace, while the Pope dined in the Mellini gardens and there contracted a fever. It was a sad day for Adrian when he was forced to drink of the water of the Roman Lethe. Europe now stood in formidable alliance against France, for the league was directed not against Soliman but against Francis I.

Adrian declares in favour of the league, Aug. 3, 1523.

Armies were eagerly equipped; the Pope and the Florentines appointed the Marquis of Mantua their general; the Venetians chose the Duke of Urbino in the place of Teodoro Trivulzio. Francis I. had long been prepared. He had not been dismayed by the fall of Venice, but the treachery of the Constable had prevented him leading his army across the Alps in the summer. Charles of Bourbon, the most powerful dynastic prince in France, was pursued by the hatred of the Queen Mother, since he had scorned the hand she offered on the death of his wife. Law-suits brought by the Crown threatened him with the loss of his finest estates; pride and revenge drove him to the camp of Charles V. In conformity with a

The Constable of Bourbon becomes a traitor to his country.

secret treaty he was to receive as wife Eleanor, the widowed Queen of Portugal and sister of the Emperor. France was to be attacked on all sides, and was finally to be partitioned between England, the Emperor and Bourbon. The Constable deceived his King by hypocritical representations, and himself escaped in the beginning of September 1523 to Switzerland, to fight under the Emperor's banner as a traitor to his country and his master. When the King, who was already marching towards Italy, learnt at Lyons of Bourbon's flight, he himself, filled with distrust, remained in France, but allowed his army under Bonnivet to proceed on its way. It reached Susa in the early part of September.

Adrian sadly watched the beginning of the war in Lombardy. It shattered all his aims, the hope of peace in Europe, that of the Crusade, and the Council of reform. He was sick unto death. Certain of his approaching end, the cardinals gathered round his bed and with brutal insistence demanded that he should tell them how much money he had and where he kept it. They treated the Pope not like a dying man, but like a criminal on the rack.[1]

Death of Adrian VI., Sept. 14, 1523.

Adrian VI. breathed his last on September 14, 1523, on the same day that the French army crossed the Ticino on the march to Milan.

The Spaniards and Flemings cried out that the Pope had been poisoned; the body was opened,

[1] The phrase of Sessa, Despatch of September 16, 1523. *Calend. of Letters*, ii. n. 601. The Cardinals found only 800 ducats in the treasury. MS. Barberini n. 2956: *Conclave Clementis VII.* Pallavicini says 3000.

but no trace of poison was discovered.[1] Not even the death of Alexander VI. had been greeted in Rome with the like joy. The unruly youth of the city hung garlands on the door of the Pope's physician, and affixed to it the inscription, "To the Liberator of the Country, the Senate and the People of Rome."[2] The Flemish darkness had vanished and the days of the Medici might return. Valerianus afterwards wrote, that "Had this bitter enemy of the Muses of eloquence and the Beautiful lived longer, the times of Gothic barbarism must have been revived."[3]

Most unfortunate was Adrian VI., fitted by nature and inclination for learned studies or the cloister, but placed by accident in a terrible age on the papal throne. In this position he showed himself an excellent priest, but proved, as pope, intolerable to the unworthy Curia.[4] If spiritual virtues united to

[1] Many notwithstanding believed in poison administered at the instigation of the French: thus Ortiz.

[2] Jovius, *Vita Adriani.* Guicciardini, xv.

[3] *De Literator. infel.*, p. 89. In poems God and the Virgin are thanked for this deliverance:

El fu nemico dogni taliano
Un nuovo Crasso e Mida anzi una harpia
In terra hor mai più huom non potria
Sentirlo ricordar pape gratiano:

And many other similar productions in Tizio's history of Siena.

[4] Pallavicini (ii. c. 9): *ecclesiastico ottimo. Pontefice in verità mediocre; ma presso il volgo che giudica dall' evento, le disgrazie il fecero apparire men che mediocre.*—Vettori (*Sommario*, p. 307): *religioso e buono, et atto più presto a essere fatto frate che Papa.* Sarpi: *non essendo la corte degna di un tal pontefice, piacque a Dio che passasse all' altra vita.* Adrian VI. is a favourite of Panvinius, who defends him against the sarcasms of Jovius and other

learning and judgment were no longer sufficient qualifications for the post of supreme head of the Church, and if none but brilliant rulers or depraved statesmen could show themselves great as popes, this only proves how utterly degenerate the Church had become. The fate of Adrian VI., the last German and foreign pontiff, is embodied in the inscription on his tomb: "How much depends on the times on which falls the virtue of even the best of men."[1] This tomb was erected in S. Maria dell' Anima by Enkefort, whom the dying Pope had made cardinal—the only appointment made by Adrian to the Sacred College.

The terrible judgment, which befell Rome and the Papacy under his successor, taught even the frivolous scoffers at Flemish barbarians to respect not only Adrian himself, but his noble aims and his insight into the source of all evils.[2]

Italians. The coarseness with which the dead was attacked is shown by the letter of Batto of Parma in Joh. Wolff (*Lection. Memorabil.*, ii. 199).

[1] *Pro Dolor Quantum Refert In Que Tempora Vel Optimi Cujusq. Virtus Incidat.* See my "Grabdenkmäler der Päpste." Adrian was buried between Pius II. and Pius III. in the Chapel of S. Andrea in S. Peter's. This inspired the pasquinade *Impius inter Pios.* Thus wrote the English ambassador to Wolsey, Rome, October 24, 1523: *State Papers*, vol. vi., *King Henry VIII.*, p. v. 178.

[2] This Jovius himself shows in his biography of Adrian.—Dietrich Hesius (of Heese, near Eindhoven), Datary of the Pope, after his master's death took his regista with him to Liege, so that they are missing from the Vatican Archives, and were all lost. Höfler, *Papst Adrian VI.*, p. 545 f.

3. Clement VII. Pope, November 18, 1523—Giberti and Schomberg—Bonnivet's disastrous Campaign in Lombardy—The Imperialists enter Provence—Marseilles Besieged—Retreat—Francis I.'s Rapid March on Milan—He besieges Pavia—Wavering Policy of Clement VII.—Stuart's Expedition against Naples—Breach between Charles and the Pope—Battle of Pavia.

The vacancy of the Sacred Chair was a fortunate accident for the King of France; it rendered doubtful the continuance of the alliance between the Papacy and the Powers and harassed the enterprises of the league, even although the war in Lombardy suffered no interruption. Hostilities were carried on with varying success round Cremona and Milan, while Duke Alfonso, defeated at Modena, made himself master of Reggio and Rubiera.

The papal election was about to take place in Rome, and the candidates eagerly pressed forward. Of the older members of the College, Grimani had been removed by death on August 27; Soderini, who still remained in S. Angelo, claimed his right of voting, and, in spite of the opposition of Medici and the imperial ambassador, he was released by means of the older cardinals on the last day of Adrian's obsequies and admitted to the Conclave. Conclave.
On October 1, 1523, thirty-five electors met in the Sistine Chapel. The care of guarding the assembly was entrusted to the unfortunate Grand-master of Rhodes. The circumstance that Medici's

cell was erected under Perugino's beautiful picture, representing the bestowal of the keys on Peter, was regarded as an omen; Julius II.'s cell had formerly occupied the same place. The influential cardinal vice-chancellor was secure of the Emperor's adhesion, and in his desire for the Papacy he unblushingly strove to procure the support of the Venetian republic, to which as early as September 19 he had addressed an urgent letter imploring it to uphold his candidature.[1]

The demand of the envoys of France, that the arrival of all the French cardinals should be awaited, was not agreed to. Bourbon, Clermont of Auch, and Lorraine arrived in the course of six days, and booted, spurred and with plumed hats they entered the Conclave. They forthwith swelled the ranks of Medici's opponents, who had thirteen of the younger cardinals on his side, while the older (nineteen in number) were against him. Besides Medici, Piccolomini, Farnese and Valle, Jacobazzi,

Parties in the Conclave.

[1] Letter to the Doge Gritti: *Cum post S. D. N. Adriani mortem multor. animis ad spem successionis erectis me quoque in hoc quasi curriculum ac certamen honoris deduxerunt suasiones amicor. ac Dominor. meor. complurium, qui se mihi fautores obtulerunt, non tam vereor ne temere aut ambitiose facere videar, quod in eam spem ingressus sum, quam ne dissolute ac negligenter, si multis magnisq. adiutorib. subnixus, ipsemet mihi desim.* He recalls the goodwill of the republic towards his family. He had spoken to the orator Marco Foscari, asking him to favour his candidature.—*Neo unquam a vobis desiderabitur in me gratissimi hominis officium, et quicquid mihi acquiretur id omne Reipubl. Vestrae quaesitum esse intelligetis.* The peace of Italy, the head of which was Venice, would be his only object. *Romae XIX. Sept.* 1523. *Serenit. V. Deditiss. Sr. Fr. Vicecancellarius*: Venice Archives. In fact, a begging letter indited by shameless ambition.

Cesarini and Pompeo Colonna were imperialists. Pompeo, however, opposed Medici's election, which was zealously urged by the Duke of Sessa. In this Conclave were sown the seeds of the bitter enmity between Pompeo and Medici, which was afterwards so largely responsible for the misfortunes of Rome. Farnesse offered the Duke of Sessa 100,000 ducats for his election, of which the emperor was to receive 80,000, the ambassador 20,000. He made the same offer to the French.[1] Medici, however, was the candidate of the emperor, and Sessa had orders to help him towards the Papacy. Wolsey indeed still presumed on the imperial promises, and again implored heaven and earth for his election, but the English ambassador soon wrote to him that he had no chance. Rome would not hear of a foreigner. In the name of the city, the conservators announced at the doors of the Conclave that the Romans desired a Roman pope, even should he be an idiot. And they urged that the election should be hurried on.

Medici, the imperial Candidate.

The contest was fierce and was prolonged for fifty days, during which the cardinals associated unhindered with the outer world. The ambitious Farnese saw his hopes vanish; Medici gained sixteen votes and became confident of success. One after another of his opponents joined his side; even his deadly enemy Soderini, who was already near the Papacy, allowed himself to be won over. Lorenzo Pucci passionately urged Medici's election.

[1] The Orator Marco Foscari thus wrote to the Doge, Rome, November 20, 1513. Venice Archives: *Dispacci di Roma.*

The benefices which he could distribute as Pope were not the most insignificant causes of his victory. For in this Conclave was framed the law that the benefices which the Pope had owned as cardinal should be divided among the electors.[1] Cornaro and Pisani declared in favour of Medici, and when Medici threatened to place Franciotto Orsini, an enemy of the Colonna, and the candidate of France, on the list, Pompeo chose rather to give his vote to Medici himself. In return the Florentine offered him the post of Vice-Chancellor and Riario's palace.[2]

Clement VII. Pope, 1523–1534.

At length, on the night of November 18–19, 1523, Giulio Medici was elected Pope, and was proclaimed as Clement VII. on the anniversary of his entry into Milan. The overthrow of the French, the victory of the imperialists was complete. "Medici," wrote Sessa to Charles, "is your creature; your power is now so great that it can transform stones into obedient sons."[3]

[1] Medici held the Archbishopric of Florence, the Bishoprics of Girona, Agria, Civita Castellana, Bertinoro, Ascoli, Potenza, Alby, Embrun and Narbonne, the Abbeys of Chiaravalle and Tre Fontane (near Rome), and finally the office of Vice-chancellor. The English envoys Clerk, Pace and Hannibal kept Wolsey informed from Rome of the proceedings in the Conclave. *State Papers*, vol. vi., *King Henry VIII.*, p. v. p. 178 *sq.*

[2] Guicciardini, xv. 419.

[3] Jovius (*Vita Pomp. Col.*) says that the election of Clement VII. wounded the older cardinals so deeply that Soderini, De Grassis, Carvajal and Fieschi soon afterwards died. Achille De Grassis died indeed three days after the election (and was buried in S. Maria in Trastevere); Carvajal in 1523, the day is uncertain (he is buried in S. Croce); Nicolo Fieschi on June 14, 1524 (buried in S. Maria del Popolo); Francesco Soderini on June 17, 1524 (buried in the same

The Romans also rejoiced; the sun of the Medici again shone on the city; men hoped for a splendid court.[1] On November 21 the new pope divided his benefices among the cardinals, to whom he had promised them in the Conclave. Soderini was reinstated in all his property both in Florence and Rome; Campeggi was made Bishop of Bologna in place of de Grassis, who had died: Cornaro received the Palace of S. Marco, Pompeo Colonna Riario's palace.[2] This cardinal either feigned satisfaction at Medici's election or else for a moment believed that he really felt it. On November 22 he congratulated the Marchese of Mantua, the friend of the new pope, on Medici's election, and expressed the hope that it would tend to the welfare of the Papacy, Italy, and the world.[3] All Italians rejoiced; the Doge wrote that he would send the noblest men of Venice to worship Clement VII. as a divinity on earth.[4]

church); according to Cardella, however, Soderini had previously become reconciled to Clement VII. He was born on June 10, 1453.

[1] *Si spera di vedere una florida Corte, e un buono Pontefice—Le buone lettere, già quasi fugate dalla Barbarie preterita, sperano di essere restituite. Est enim Medicaeae familiae decus, fovere Musas: Lettere di Princ.*, i. 118.

[2] Andrea Piperari to Castiglione, Rome, November 23, 1523. Gonzaga Archives.

[3] *Ed io spero senza dubbio alchuno che tale electione habia ad esser la salute non solo de qsta S. Sede, et de tutta Italia, ma de tutta la Christanita. . . .* He begs the Marchese to send him a huntsman, *che gia e longo tempo che siamo privi de omne piacere max. per il pontificato de Adriano, quale fo causa de farce scordar de omne piacere et solazzo.* Original in the Gonzaga Archives.

[4] *Veluti divinum quoddam in terris nomen adorare.* Letter of congratulation (undated), in M. Sanuto, vol. xxxv. fol. 126.

He was crowned on November 26. On account of the approaching jubilee he deferred taking possession of the Lateran. At the age of forty-six the bastard of the murdered Giuliano ascended the papal throne; a serious and active-minded man, although not untouched by the passions of the time; dry, nervous and devoid of all majesty. The likeness which Raffaelle painted of him as cardinal shows a man with the traits of suspicion written on his face; a petty character without a trace of a great or benevolent spirit. The countenance is poor, and awakes distrust in the beholder. Medici's wealth and prestige, the possession of Florence, which he had ruled long and well, the statesman-like wisdom ascribed to him, gave rise to the hope that as pope he would surpass his predecessors in greatness. Such was the expectation generally entertained.[1]

The fact that he immediately drew men of great reputation to his side, such as Sadoleto, whom he made his secretary, won public opinion in his favour. His confidant, however, was the young and intellectual Giammatteo Giberti, a bastard like himself, son of a Genoese sea-captain, and born in Palermo about 1495. While Giberti was yet a child, Medici had taken him into his house. Having gained distinction by his classical learning, and speedily risen to fame in the Roman Academy, the youth became versed in

Matteo Giberti.

[1] *Il quale si crede che fia il maggiore Papa, e il più prudente e il più onorato e riverito dal mondo che abbia la Chiesa da Dio avuti di molti secoli addietro*: Bembo to Bened. Accolti, Padua, December 11, 1523: Opp. iii. 54.

diplomatic affairs before he had passed his twentieth year. After Leo's death his patron sent him to Charles V. in Flanders, to win the Emperor to the side of the Medici; he then returned to Italy with Adrian, the new pope. He was an unselfish, earnest and religious man. When the order of Theatines was formed in Rome under Tiene and Caraffa, Giberti resolved to join it, and the recognition of the society by Clement VII. on June 24, 1524, was essentially his work.[1] No sooner had Clement become Pope than he made his favourite datary, and, soon afterwards, Bishop of Verona.[2]

Next to Giberti his confidence was mainly given to Nicholas of Schomberg, a Saxon from Meissen. Schomberg had come as a traveller to Pisa in 1497, where a sermon of Savonarola had impressed him so deeply that he entered the Dominican order. He afterwards joined the Medicean party, was summoned as professor of theology to Rome by Leo. X., and in 1520 was made Archbishop of Capua. Leo entrusted Schomberg with several commissions, and while a cardinal Clement VII. had been on terms of intimate friendship with him.[3] These two councillors, Giberti and Schomberg, although belonging to opposite parties, remained in the favour of the new pope, Giberti a partisan of France, Schomberg of the

Nicholas Schomberg.

[1] Silos consequently extols him as the first protector of the order.

[2] Spotorno, *Storia litteraria della Liguria*, iii. 112. Bembo congratulates Giberti on having received the post of datary on December 15, 1523, and the bishopric of Verona on August 26, 1524. Opp. iii. 51, 52.

[3] Schomberg was made cardinal of S. Sisto under Paul III. in 1534; he died in 1537 and is buried in the Minerva.

Emperor. To their conflicting influences Guicciardini ascribes in great part the wavering character, which, to the surprise of the world, Clement VII. soon displayed. The character, however, was innate, and had been fostered by the diplomatic school from which he issued; the precarious position of the Papacy—situated between the two currents of power of the age—had helped this very school to its dominating position. In all principles of political action, the Papacy of the Medici was Machiavellian. Leo X., and with him Giulio, his pupil in statecraft, governed according to the precepts of the *Prince*. Clement only continued the prudent policy of his fortunate cousin. Less favoured by time and more harassed by the increasing pressure of the antagonistic influences of Europe, he transformed this policy into one of suspicion and fear.

On his election he found the horizon black with threatening clouds; the Reformation in Germany, the war in Italy, the enmity of the powers, the formidable greatness of the Sultan all threatened the already shaken Papacy. He was himself only conditionally free, since from his predecessor he inherited the league for the protection of Italy, that is to say, against Francis I., and this had been essentially his own work. In him the Emperor might expect to find an active ally. But Giulio Medici was now Pope; he wished to remain neutral, to make an end of the war between France and Charles, and to turn united Europe against the Turks. He looked with suspicion on the danger to which the rule of Spain—consolidating as it was

in strength—must necessarily expose the freedom of Italy, and Clement was not insensible to the value of this freedom, so far as concerned the State of the Church.

The war pursued its course. Bonnivet, more courtier than general, had marched against Milan, while Bayard and Federigo da Bozzolo had conquered Lodi and thrown fresh troops into the fortress of Cremona. The allies gradually advanced to the relief of Milan, which was defended by Prospero, and at the end of November Bonnivet raised the siege. Prospero, the hero of eighty, died in the liberated city on December 30. Lannoy and Pescara commanded the Imperialists, while Bourbon was governor for Charles, whom he served in the same Milan where he had formerly served as viceroy for Francis I. The Imperial army, strengthened by reinforcements from Austria and troops from Naples, was ready to take the offensive. Cremona fell in February 1524. Driven back step by step towards Piedmont, covered with ignominy and disgrace, Bonnivet was finally obliged to retire to France. During the retreat Bayard died a hero's death on April 30.

The French are driven from Italy.

Clement watched these events with deep distrust. More than anything he feared the permanent occupation of Milan by the Emperor. He had probably secretly aided Charles with supplies of money, but, although urged by the Duke of Sessa and the Imperial envoy, Adrian of Croy, had refused to become an active member of the league. He reflected by what means he could free himself from

the pressure of Spain, against whose supremacy Italian national feeling revolted. He secretly discussed alliances with France, strove to alienate the sympathy of Venice from the war, and in March 1524 sent Schomberg to the Emperor and also to King Francis with proposals for a truce.[1] The Emperor himself wished to accept the Pope's mediation, and therefore sent Gerhard de la Plaine, Seigneur de la Roche, to Rome in May. But all these measures produced no result.

The Constable conceived a scheme to follow up his successes with audacious rapidity, while the Imperial army entered France itself. Bourbon represented to the Emperor that the invasion of Provence would provoke a revolt against the King. The scheme was strongly discouraged by the Pope, but approved by Charles, and in July 1524 the victorious army entered Provence. Antibes, Toulon, Aix and other places were speedily subjugated, and in August siege was laid to Marseilles. But the Constable's promises remained unfulfilled; the monarchical spirit had already taken deep root even in the South of France, where the traitor was regarded with horror, and men loved the brilliant King.[2] Marseilles was successfully defended by Renzo Orsini of Ceri, who was in the King's pay, while Francis himself collected a large body of troops at Avignon to relieve the important seaport. Pescara

The Imperialists make an unsuccessful incursion into Provence.

[1] Instructions for Schomberg, March 11. *Cal. of Lett.*, ii. n. 626.

[2] Canossa had foretold this: *siate certo che Francesi adorano il loro Re, e non vi fondate nelle ribellioni altre volte segnite in Francia: perche non vi sono piu di quei tali Principi, che le causavano.* Letter to Castiglione, *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 129 *sq.*

at length demanded that the deadly siege should be raised, and this was done on September 28. After suffering heavy losses, Bourbon led the discouraged Imperialists back to Italy, and at the same time the King advanced by Montbrians to steal a march on the retreating enemy and to capture dismantled Milan. His formidable army, about 50,000 strong, was formed of Swiss, German landsknechts, Frenchmen and Italians.

The race to Milan between the two armies was a curious sight. Lannoy here found himself in evil case; the country was denuded of troops, the city, owing to pestilence, was itself untenable. The King pressed impetuously forward; Sforza fled to the fortress of Pizzighettone, and his minister Morone counselled the unfortunate Milanese to give admission to the French as soon as they appeared. After Lannoy had gained the troops of Pescara and Bourbon to his side, he placed garrisons in Lodi, Cremona, Pavia and Alessandria, and abandoned Milan to the enemy. The French re-entered the deserted city on October 26, 1524. The King ordered its bastions to be destroyed, and the fortress to be invested by La Tremouille. Had his forces not been scattered in laying siege to different towns, he would have crushed the enemy, who had retired on Lodi. But he encamped with all his forces before Pavia on October 28.

Milan conquered by the French, Oct. 26, 1524.

Francis I. lays siege to Pavia.

The strong Ghibelline city, which the ancient Lombard kings had made their seat, was held by the heroic Spaniard de Leyva, with a few fellow-countrymen and 4000 Germans under Count Eitel

Fritz von Zollern and John Baptista von Lodron. De Leyva met the attacks of the King and of his bravest general Anne de Montmorency, and even the mutinous conduct of his own hungry and unpaid garrison, with the greatness of a true general. On December 4 he drove the French back to their trenches with much slaughter; Francis, however, would not yield, and round the lofty towers of ancient and gloomy Pavia centred the whole fortunes of the war.

Each power meanwhile implored the adhesion of the Pope; he held negotiations with both, but would not determine in favour of either, reserving his decision until he saw the result of the siege of Pavia. Never before had any one beheld a statesman act with such shrewd foresight. Giberti likened his conduct to that of a sailor who kept more than one anchor in readiness.[1] If France conquered, he would anchor here; if Spain, he would anchor beside the Emperor, but never too firmly anywhere. His position was indeed desperate; his predecessors had placed the Papacy between Scylla and Charybdis. Having become the first power in Italy, although too weak to keep the great powers at a distance, the Papacy was always drawn to the conqueror, who, for the time, acted as the more powerful magnet, while, impelled by motives of self-preservation, it sought to strengthen the vanquished. With the independence of Italy must necessarily be lost that also of the

Ambiguous policy of Clement VII.

[1] To Aleander, Nuncio to Francis I., February 19, 1525. *Lett. di Princ.*, i. 148.

Sacred Chair; to save it was therefore the task of the Pope, and this object could be regarded as the only justification for the existence of the State of the Church. In diplomacy, in the labyrinth of European politics, the centre of which was Italy, Clement VII. perished miserably. It is scarcely probable that the Reformation in Germany would have gained ground so rapidly had the Papacy not been so inextricably entangled in the conditions of its temporal position. Confronted with the circumstances of the time, Clement invariably showed himself so weak that his figure is in every feature the pitiable reverse of that of Julius II. Petty desires for the extension of the State of the Church and of the house of Medici overcame every great impulse in this narrow-hearted man.

Seeing the French flee from Italy in the summer of 1524, he turned to the Emperor and proposed his conditions: the surrender of Reggio and Rubiera and security to the Papacy of the monopoly of salt in the Milanese territory. Charles had declined these conditions. Now when Francis I. made his triumphal progress through Lombardy Clement turned to the King. In Rome men openly showed their hatred of Spain. Cardinal Orsini displayed the arms of France on his palace, and people shouted "Long live the King of France, the Emperor of the whole world!" In the beginning of November the Pope sent Alberto Pio of Carpi and also Giberti to the King. Giberti at the same time carried on negotiations for a truce with the viceroy; the negotiations, however, were merely intended to delude

Clement VII. inclines towards France.

him, and in private the envoy formed a compact with Francis. The Pope promised that he would offer no hindrance to his retaining possession of Milan, and the King promised in return everything that the Emperor had refused.[1] It was even asserted that it was Giberti who suggested to Francis the dangerous scheme, by which John Stuart, Duke of Albany, was to be sent with a force against Naples, for which expedition permission to raise troops in Rome was to be granted. The King hoped, that is to say, that the imperialists would consequently leave Lombardy to save Naples.[2] Not without the sanction of the Pope, Giovanni Medici left the imperial army to enter the service of Francis I., whom the Duke of Ferrara openly supported with arms and money.[3] Venice also, in dread that the

[1] Sandoval, i. 853, 356. Ferronus (ed. Basle), p. 249. The articles remained secret. Ranke, iv. c. i. Letter of Clement VII. to Ferdinand of Austria of January 6, 1525, with the *Capita foederis inter Pont. Rom. et Regem Gallorum: Annales Spalatini* in Menk, ii. 648. In the Florence Archives (*Carte Strozz.*, filz. 139, p. 38) is an undated fragment of the proposals made to the King. The draft probably belongs to January 1525.

[2] Sanga, Giberti's secretary, says that the plan was the King's entirely, the Pope was opposed to it. To Schomberg, Rome, November 21, 1524, *Lett. di Princ.*, i. 140. Beaucaire is of the same opinion, in opposition to Capella and Bellay; Jovius (*Vita Pompei*) ascribes the expedition to the Pope. Sanga's view is confirmed by some papers in Desjardins (*Négociat. de la France avec la Toscane*, vol. ii.). Clement himself declared to Wolsey (Rome, January 5, 1525) that he had not been able to dissuade the King from the enterprise; that for his own defence he had made a treaty with him. He was sending Giovanni Casale to England, wishing that Henry VIII. might sanction the treaty. *Sadoleti Epist.*, Rome, 1760, iv. n. 96.

[3] Gal. Capella apud Graevium, iv. 1290.

Emperor might settle in Milan, abjured Charles and secretly formed a treaty with Francis and the Pope. Florence, where the incapable Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona, governed under the orders of the Pope, remained inactive. Passerini was guardian at the same time of the two youthful Medici, Ippolito and Alessandro, Clement having sent thither first one then the other of these bastards, to learn the art of government and to watch over the interests of the house.

Venice joins the side of France.

Clement judged rightly that the union of Lombardy with Naples under the sceptre of the Emperor must entail the servitude of Italy. But in case Francis I. gained possession of Lombardy, was it possible the Pope could wish him to become master of Naples also? Clement wavered to and fro, earning the suspicion of both parties.[1] When he granted the King the desired passage for the troops destined for Naples, could he plead that he was forced thereto by necessity? Stuart set forth at the end of the year 1524 with 2000 horse and 3000 infantry and advanced into Tuscany, where he was joined by Renzo of Ceri. He wasted valuable time in Lucca and Siena, where, with the knowledge of the Pope, he changed the government; afterwards he lingered in the Orsini territories, where he acquired mercenaries and raised money. Ludovico Canossa, now Bishop of Bayeux, had come to Rome as second plenipotentiary of the King, and had Pavia fallen, Clement would openly have declared

The French invade Naples.

[1] *Pacis sequester esse vult, et Caesarianis et Gallis suspectus:* Ferronus, *ut supra.*

for France.[1] He accorded John Stuart a friendly reception in the papal states, and even in Rome itself when Stuart finally advanced against Naples.[2] To the viceroy Lannoy, who had sent him a violent manifesto, he explained that he was obliged to compound with France.[3] On January 5, 1525, he sent a vague message to the same effect to Charles himself; and Sessa informed the Emperor that the same day the Pope concluded an alliance with France.[4]

Alliance between the Pope and Francis I.

The Spanish Court was deeply incensed. "I myself," exclaimed Charles, "will come to Rome to take vengeance on all those who have offended me, and especially on this silly pope."[5] He swore to be revenged on the Venetians and also on Duke

[1] *Noi habbiamo un buonissimo Papa—se Pavia si fosse presa, di già sarebbe vinto.* . . . Canossa to Louise of Savoy, *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 139 and 146.

[2] *Accarezzatto assai da N. S. come parente*, writes Giberti to Cardinal Salviati, Rome, February 15, 1525. Florence Archives, *Carte Strozz.*, filza 160. Stuart was brother-in-law of the dead Lorenzo Medici. He came to Rome on February 13.

[3] Bucholtz, ii. 301. Despatch of Lannoy of December 2.

[4] Sessa to Charles, Rome, January 7, 1525. *Calend. of Lett.*, ii. n. 708. M. Sanuto, vol. xxxvii. fol. 251, contains the copy of the *Capitula pacis inter S. Pont. et regem francie inite Rome* 1524 (*i.e.* 1525 according to Roman style); neither the day nor month is given. The King leaves Parma and Piacenza to the Pope; if he conquers Milan, he will import his salt there from the papal camera. He makes no innovations in Florence. He restores ecclesiastical liberty and the system of benefices in France. He promises to make war on the Turks and to defend Hungary. The powers are to be invited to agree to the peace.

[5] *Verrò io stesso in Italia, per riacquistare il mio e vendicarmi di coloro che mi hanno offeso, e massime di quel villano il papa*: Words addressed to the Florentine orator; in de Leva, ii. 233.

Alfonso. To Clement he wrote on February 7 that he was astonished that he had renounced all his allies; Stuart's mission was directed less against Naples than with the object of intimidating him—the Pope. In another letter he complained of Clement's ingratitude, since he (the Emperor) had raised him to the Sacred Chair. Charles also declared himself ready for peace under conditions which the viceroy would propose. In spite of the Pope's defection, he would carry out his plans, even did it cost him his crown. This, said Charles, is no time to speak of Luther.[1]

Meanwhile the siege of Pavia dragged on so slowly that the Venetians and Clement urgently advised the King to raise it. The Germans under Leyva defended the sorely-harassed city with Spartan heroism. To hasten their relief Bourbon had hurried to Innsbrück and Augsburg, where he collected a few thousand troops under Marx Sittich of Ems and Count Nicholas of Salm. George of Frundsberg also obeyed the summons of the viceroy and the Archduke Ferdinand. The preservation of the pearl Milan to the Empire was at stake, and it was necessary that he should release Gaspar, his own son, a captain, who was in Pavia. The restless hero collected eleven troops of landsknechts in

Preparations for the relief of Pavia.

[1] Charles to the Pope, February 7, 1525. To Sessa, February 9. *Calend. of Lett.*, n. 716, 717. In January 1525 Charles had made large offers to the Pope; he even proposed to give him Ferrara for Ippolito Medici, but the Pope declined it. This is asserted by Giberti. Gasparo Contarini to the X in Venice, Madrid, January 26, 1525, in Rawdon Brown, *Cal. of State Papers and Manuscripts*, iii. n. 916.

Tyrol, and with these pushed his way to the imperial army which still lay at Lodi. The viceroy had intended hence to set forth for the defence of Naples, but was deterred by Pescara, Frundsberg and Morone, who justly perceived that the issues of the war must be decided on the Po.

It was high time to relieve Pavia and to set in motion the imperial army, whose position, owing to want of money, became more insupportable every day. His financial affairs were in such a state that the greatest monarch in the world, in whose dominions the sun never set, frequently found himself incapable of producing 200,000 gold florins, or of furnishing an army for two months' service, the strength of which about equalled that of a division of the present day.[1] His forces scarcely numbered 24,000 men, but they were formed of the veterans of Spain and Germany; men whose minds were fired with recollections of their many victories over the French. These famished and unpaid warriors, shouting "For Emperor and Empire," swore to conquer or die. The Pope still strove to bring about a peace. Had his demands been complied with, he would have left Milan to the King, Naples to the Emperor. His legate Aleander was with Francis before Pavia; Schomberg in Lodi with the imperialists, whom he was to deter from the attack. He found nothing here but vindictive hatred of the

[1] In these days an army of 20,000 men was not a small one. We have cause for surprise if we compare the number of troops and the war expenses of the time of Charles V. with those of the German war of 1870. With only a fourth part of the troops, and with a twentieth of the cost, Charles would inevitably have subjugated Europe.

faithless Pope; with drawn sword Frundsberg drove the priests from his camp.[1]

Departure of the Imperialists for the relief of Pavia.

On January 24, 1525, the imperialists finally broke up their camp at Lodi, resolved to offer battle to the enemy. They advanced to Marignano, apparently to seize Milan, but then turned against Pavia. On February 3 they took up their position within range of the enemy's camp. The King had strengthened it with trenches and barricades; it was protected on one side by the Ticino, on the other by the great walled zoological garden with the hunting lodge of Mirabella. Some thousand Germans, namely the notorious company of the Black Band under Richard the exiled Duke of Suffolk, and Francis brother of the Duke of Lorraine, 6000 Swiss, 4000 Italians, 6000 French chiefly Gascons, and the splendid cavalry of the *hommes d'armes*, besides a formidable body of artillery, formed the well-conditioned army of the King. Nevertheless Francis's position was not favourable; behind him lay Pavia, before him the imperial army. The ill-judged retreat of Stuart was a serious loss, and this was increased by the departure of the Graubündners, who returned to their homes in order to drive Giangiacomo Medici, the Castellan of Mus, from Chiavenna. Palisse, as well as the papal legates, advised the King to decline battle, and retire to Binasco, since hunger would soon work the fall of Pavia, and want would scatter the imperialists. But

[1] Reissner, iii. 36. All the circumstances of the celebrated siege of Pavia are given clearly and well by Carpesanus in Lib. x.

Francis refused to listen, and Bonnivet encouraged his fatal resolve.

Twenty days were spent in a series of petty encounters. These skirmishes, in which Pescara brilliantly distinguished himself, invariably ended to the disadvantage of the French. The loss of the bravest of the condottieri, Giovanni Medici, who was disabled by a wound, was severely felt by the King. Stern necessity finally drove the imperialist generals to risk a blow before the landsknechts' term of service had expired. They determined to attack the French camp at night, breaking down the wall of the zoological garden; a sortie in their aid was to be made from Pavia. This attack developed into a decisive battle on the morning of Friday, February 24, for not until then, in the early dawn, had the attempts to break the walls on the north side of the Park succeeded. The infantry were led by Pescara and his nephew, the Marchese Alfonso del Vasto, the mailed cavalry by Bourbon and the viceroy, the twenty-eight companies of landsknechts, forming the rear-guard, by Frundsberg. As these troops made their way into the garden, intersected by trenches and shrubberies, and occupied the hunting lodge of Mirabella, which had been fixed on as the meeting place, the enemy approached in order of battle. A hot fight immediately ensued. Galliot's French artillery made deep gaps in the files of landsknechts and Spaniards; the *hommes d'armes*, led by the King in person, drove back the imperial cavalry; most of the guns were captured. "It was a terrible fray," said Reissner; "on both

Battle of Pavia, Feb. 24, 1525.

sides were old warriors, who fought not for honour alone, but for the Italian Imperium." The King beheld the ranks of the enemy broken, and rejoiced, believing himself master of Italy. With the strength of despair, however, Pescara brought up the Spanish arquebusiers; they threw the French cavalry to the ground; even the *Bande Neri* yielded before the valour of Frundsberg's landsknechts, and the fortune of battle was decided in a few hours.

The Swiss were also filled with dismay when they saw the Duke of Alençon flee with all his cavalry; these hardy soldiers, who in their wild thirst for war usually threw themselves against the cannon's mouth, recoiled before the muskets and refused to fight. The victory was now decided. In the tumult, in which all order was scattered to the wind, the noblest of France fell victims. Admiral Bonnivet, the noble old Duke la Palisse, the famous warrior La Tremouille, Richard de la Pole of Suffolk, Francis brother of the Duke of Lorraine lay dead; several great nobles were in the power of the enemy. The King had fought bravely; with his own hand he had stabbed the Marchese Ferrando Castriota, Scanderbeg's grandson, and was himself slightly wounded. Seeing his infantry and even his *hommes d'armes* waver and flee, he slowly turned his horse. The splendour of his dress and the collar of S. Michael revealed him as a man of rank. Two Spanish captains, Diego d'Avila and Juan d'Urbieta, threw themselves upon him. Several nobles who sprang to his assistance, the aged Galeazzo of Sanseverino, the Count la Tonnere, Marafin, the Marshal Thomas

de Foix, fell wounded from their horses. The Count of Salm struck him in the right hand, himself received a stab in the thigh, and then wounded the King's horse. Lying half under his horse, Francis made himself known to the Spaniards who attacked him. "Sire," said Charles de la Motte, "surrender to my Master, the Duke of Bourbon." "I will recognise none as such but myself," contemptuously answered the King. He would surrender to none but the viceroy. Search was made for Lannoy. At last he appeared; he found the great King of France in the most piteous guise, bleeding, with torn clothes and scarcely recognisable; helmet, belt, the collar of his order, his coat of silver mail, all had been snatched from him by the savage soldiers, who surrounded him yelling, all wishing to possess some memento of the monarch.[1] Deeply moved, Lannoy kissed his hand; kneeling he received the sword which was handed to him, and offered the prisoner his own. Pescara came, knelt respectfully before the King,

King Francis taken prisoner.

[1] *Como por reliquias, para memoria*: Sandoval, i. 372, whose description of the battle is worth reading. The account given by Guicciardini, which is abridged by Capella, is singularly bad; that of Jovius, who is followed by Reissner, afterwards by Carpesano and Bellay, good. To these authorities Ranke (iv. c. 1) adds some information. The French account (Champollion, *Captivité du roi François I.*, n. 39) exalts the King into a Roland. A good description is found in the article "Georg v. Frundsberg": *Oesterreich. Revue*, ii., 1864. Frundsberg himself gave a short report to the Archduke Ferd. "*Anzeygendt Newtzeyttung, wie es aygentlich mitt der Schlacht von Pavia—ergangen.*" (Printed in 1525, Munich Library: "3350 taken prisoners and as many as 5500 wounded." A total of 10,000 killed; while the loss on the imperialist side did not amount to more than 400. For the German ballads on the battle, see Liliencron, *Die hist. Volkslieder der Deutschen*, iii.)

tears in his eyes. Del Vasto and others did the same. The Constable, hearing of the great event, shook his sword in the air, sheathed it, sprang from his horse, knelt in confusion before the King, and wished to kiss his hand. Francis drew back. "Had your Majesty," said the apostate Bourbon, "followed my advice you would not have found yourself in this position." The King sighed, "Patience, since fortune has deserted me." Pescara persuaded Bourbon to retire.[1]

These triumphant warriors, with bloody swords or lances in their hands, the heroic forms of the generals in their glittering armour and brilliant uniforms, agitated or petrified with amazement, the prostrate nobles in their suits of mail, princes and magnates stretched in death, grouped around the person of the captive King, presented a scene unparalleled in the annals of chivalry, to which the dilapidated park which had served as battlefield formed the frame. It was the greatest battle-picture of the sixteenth century; a catastrophe in the world's history was concentrated therein. Moments such as these are never forgotten. And this tragic spectacle in Pavia was repeated, when a scene equally memorable in history, though in circumstances never seen before, was enacted in our own days, when, on the deadly battlefield of Sedan, the captive Emperor of the French surrendered his sword, and with it the sceptre of European power, to the restorer of the German

[1] In the evening he waited on the King at table; while handing him a napkin, he burst into bitter tears. Letters in M. Sanuto.

Empire, King William of Prussia.[1] For this bitter struggle between France and the German Empire for the hegemony of Europe was continued for more than three centuries.[2] The great antithesis round which the history of Europe has moved, and will long continue to move, is in the main that between the Latin and German spirit; and the contest between them began to assume its modern aspect on the ground of the possession of Italy and of the imperial power under Charles V. and Francis I.; while at the same time the Reformation gave a permanent form to the religious antagonism.

The air resounded with the army's shouts of victory. Such of the French as still held together now dispersed in flight. True, that Alençon gained the bridge of the Ticino, which he threw down behind him, but the Swiss, pursued by Leyva, were drowned in hordes in the rushing river. All the baggage, the guns, the camp itself fell to the victors.

Rout of the French army.

[1] Charles V. was not present at the scene of his greatest success. "Many have blamed him for not taking part in the battle of Pavia, all lovers of sublime situations have deplored his absence": Hormayr, *Archiv. für Geogr., Hist.*, etc., 1810, p. 9. He was ill of fever.—The forces engaged in the disasters of Pavia and Sedan respectively are as follows: at Pavia, 36,000 French and 28,000 Imperialists (including the garrison of Pavia); at Sedan, almost 150,000 French and 220,000 Germans. Fifty-three guns were taken at Pavia; the Imperialists had only sixteen.

[2] The circumstances of Pavia and Sedan offer one of the most striking correspondences in history. Both marked epochs in the history of the world. At the rise of the star of Charles V. mankind beheld exactly what it has beheld in our own day, the downfall of France, the fall of the Papacy, the preponderance of the German imperial authority, a Council, and following close on it, a movement for reform.

The French army was annihilated. Between Pavia and the Certosa more than 12,000 lay dead ; among them the greatest nobles in France, and besides the King, Henri d'Albret, son of the King of Navarre, the Marshal Anne de Montmorency, Fleuranges, son of Rupert de la Marck and lord of Sedan, S. Pol, the Bastard of Savoy, Federigo da Bozzolo, and countless officers of lower rank were prisoners. In a few hours the duchy of Milan was reconquered, German imperial authority restored in Italy, and Charles V. raised to the summit of power. Pescara, Frundsberg and Leyva were the heroes of this great day.

From the liberated city couriers flew to Spain and Germany, England and Rome. When Don Ruy Diaz de Pennalosa appeared before the young Emperor in the Castle of Madrid to tell him that on February 24, his own birthday, the King of France had become his prisoner, Charles grew pale. Slowly he repeated the messenger's words.[1] He remained silent in thought, turned, went into his bedchamber, and there knelt in prayer. The thought that first arose in his agitated mind was the deliverance of Europe by a crusade against the Turk. He would not allow guns to be fired in rejoicing, but ordered thanksgiving processions in Madrid. Never did Charles V. show himself

[1] "*El rey sta preso en mi poder y la batalla sta gagnada para nui.*" —Dom Suardino to the Marchese of Mantua, Madrid, March 13, 1525. From Sanuto, xxxviii. 162, in Rawdon Brown, *Calendar — of Venice*, iii. n. 959. Suardino's Despatches are preserved among the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

greater than in this the most fortunate hour of his life, when a future of illimitable power disclosed itself before his eyes.

4. Dismay of the Curia in Rome—The Spaniards there make War on the Orsini and the French—Clement Forms an Alliance with the Emperor, April 1, 1525—Francis I. is Embarked for Spain—Reaction against the Power of the Emperor—The Pope Tries to Form a League Against Him—Morone's Conspiracy—Death of Pescara, November 1525—Peace made at Madrid, February 14, 1526—Francis set at Liberty—League of Cognac, May 22, 1526.

Impression made in Rome by the news of Francis's defeat.

Clement received the dreadful tidings on the night of February 26. He refused to believe them. On the 27th they were confirmed by letters from Venice. The victory meant the subjugation of Italy by Spain and the Emperor, and filled every Italian with profound dismay. Venice, which had left the Emperor in the lurch, was terror-stricken. Gasparo Contarini, the envoy of the republic in Madrid, said to Gattinara: "The Almighty has made you Chancellor to the Emperor, in order that you—an Italian by birth—may become the benefactor of Italy, as God in former times made Joseph great at the court of Pharaoh of Egypt, that he might save his people." The effect of the victory of Pavia on the astounded world in the sixteenth century was very similar to that of the great disaster at Sedan in our own days.

The Colonna and the Spaniards paraded Rome, shouting in joy, "Imperio! Imperio!"[1] Stuart with his army was still in Roman territory, where he was joined by the Orsini, whose forces, 3000 strong, returned to Rome on March 2. Giulio Colonna, with some Spaniards in Sessa's service, attacked them near S. Paul's, and drove them into the city, pursuing them with slaughter as far as the Banks. On the outbreak of the tumult, which redounded to his own disgrace, the Pope shut himself up in the Vatican, and cannon were mounted there.[2] He had a presentiment that evil days were before him. It was the jubilee year, but no sadder jubilee had the city ever seen; pestilence broke out, and prices rose enormously. Among the few pilgrims who arrived was the Marchesa Isabella Gonzaga, sister of Alfonso of Ferrara, who came to Rome to receive for her son Ercole the cardinal's hat promised him by Leo. X.[3]

The Colonna attack the French in Rome.

The French and their adherents threw the blame of the disaster on the Pope. "This willing and not willing has now produced the result that surprises every one; all Rome is dismayed by it and dreads the ruin that may easily follow." Thus wrote the Archbishop of Siponto, afterwards Pope Julius III.,

[1] Venetian report: *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 152.

[2] Imperio Raccordato to the Marquis of Mantua, Rome, March 2, 1525. Gonzaga Archives.—Clerk to Wolsey, March 19, 1525. Brewer, *Lett. and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.*, iv. p. i. n. 1197.

[3] She remained in Rome, where we shall hear of her fortunes during the Sack. In the Gonzaga Archives I have seen several of her letters relating to her son's elevation to the purple.

to Cardinal Egidius.[1] Partisans of France printed an elegiac poem on the capture of the King which contained such violent attacks on the Emperor, that the Pope grew frightened and forbade any book to be printed unless it had previously passed the Censor.[2]

Clement found himself in the same position as Julius II. after the battle of Ravenna, and indeed so strong was the hatred of the imperialists against him, the apostate, that immediately after the victory Frundsberg wished to advance on Rome. The scheme of the German soldier was well judged, and his idea of speedily settling accounts with the Pope the best course of policy. He was, however, prevented from carrying it out by the viceroy, who was timid in diplomatic affairs, a man without genius or strength.[3] Lannoy considered that it would be more advantageous to force Clement to a treaty, by which a large sum of money would be extorted, for it was necessary above all things that the troops should be rewarded. After the battle they had only received a minute fraction of their pay. The territory of Piacenza alone was occupied by German forces, who levied contributions and committed robberies. Lannoy's threat of advancing to Rome and driving Stuart away sufficed to compel the Pope to accept the articles which Giambartolommeo Gattinara, a nephew of Charles's Grand-chancellor, laid before him in the name of the Viceroy.

[1] *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 155.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 160: March 20, 1525.
[3] Jacob Ziegler, *Hist. Clem. VII.*, p. 374.

Clement accordingly concluded an alliance with the Emperor. Both pledged themselves to defend Milan against every attack; the State of the Church, Florence and the Medici were to be taken under imperial protection, in return for which the Florentines were to pay 100,000 gold florins. To these the Pope added other conditions, namely that the Duke of Ferrara should be urged to restore him Reggio and Rubiera, and that Milan should be obliged to use the salt from the works at Cervia. Clement also strove to have the Venetians included in the peace, but his efforts failed on account of the exaggerated demands that the Viceroy proposed to the republic.

The Pope accepts the Emperor's proposal of alliance.

On April 1 the treaty was signed in Rome; on May 1 it was announced. Pompeo Colonna gave the Pope and the imperial envoy a magnificent banquet in his palace near SS. Apostoli on the occasion. The Orsini troops were already disbanded. As regards the French, the Duke of Sessa had arranged with the Pope that they should be allowed free retreat, and already at the end of March Stuart and Renzo had taken ship for France from Civita Vecchia. Despair alone extorted the treaty from Clement. He ardently longed for peace, but the unholy desire for Reggio led to fresh complications. The Emperor sanctioned the treaty of April, but rejected the additional article, which would have pledged him to abandon the imperial rights over Reggio and Rubiera if he added these dominions to the State of the Church. He ordered the Viceroy to form a treaty with Alfonso, by which

the Duke was to retain these cities in return for a sum of money. At the same time the Archduke Ferdinand had obliged Duke Sforza to import his salt from Austria and not from Cervia. A cry of indignation arose in Rome; the Emperor was accused of breach of faith.

Francis I. was meanwhile taken to Pizzighettone and placed under the custody of the Spanish captain Alarcon. He himself wished to be conveyed to Spain, hoping that in a personal interview he might work on the Emperor's magnanimity. Bourbon and Pescara requested that he should be taken to Naples and kept in the fortress there, and Lannoy agreed to their demand. Francis was brought to Genoa, whence he was to be sent by sea to Naples in June, but meanwhile the Viceroy set forth for Spain and conducted the prisoner thither. This high-handed proceeding offended the pride of Bourbon, and roused Pescara to such a pitch of indignation that he challenged Lannoy to a duel as a traitor.[1]

Francis I. taken to Naples.

While the King remained a prisoner in the fortress of Madrid, and while the terms for his release were discussed between Charles and Louise of Savoy, Regent of France, the victory of Pavia produced a reaction against the formidable greatness of the Emperor. If Charles V., King of Naples and Sicily, settled in Lombardy, whence he could enforce the rights of the Empire on Modena and Reggio, on

Reaction against the victory of Pavia.

[1] Charles approved Lannoy's action. See the letters in W. Bradford, *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles and his ambassadors*, London, 1850, p. 115.

Verona, Parma and Piacenza, and even over Tuscany, only a doubtful fraction of Italy would be left. Venice saw herself threatened in her possessions on the mainland, the State of the Church enclosed within that of the Empire. And what could the Papacy oppose to the power of Charles V. at a time when papal prestige was shaken to its foundations?

In the course of our history we have often observed that the papal power waxed when the imperial power waned, and on the other hand that the Papacy declined when the strength of the Empire increased. The popes, with the help of the Italian democracies and of France, had issued victorious from the long struggle with the Hohenstaufen monarchy. They remained strong as long as they had Italian national feeling on their side. After the last attempts for the restoration of the imperial authority made by Henry VII. and Lewis the Bavarian, the Imperium had fallen into impotency and the Papacy had also declined. The national spirit of Italy severed itself from the Papacy, the Guelf city republics fell to pieces, the Neapolitan monarchy broke up, and, like Milan, put forward foreign pretenders. The long schism and the Council finally overthrew the authority of the Papacy. It arose again from the time of Martin V., and became a great power in Italy. Henceforward while the country lost her independence the Papacy sought to base the foundations of its existence on the most insecure ground of the temporal state, in political alliances and in the system of the balance of power, which was being adopted throughout

Europe. At the very time when the country no longer afforded any support to the Papacy, when through Charles V. the imperial authority acquired a formidable strength, such as had never been seen before, Germany tore itself free from the Catholic Church; and what might not have taken place had the two greatest powers of the time, the Emperor and Luther, arrived at a mutual understanding?

The victory of Pavia had produced a crisis—one of the greatest that history was to witness until the time of Napoleon. France lay prostrate; England threatened it with invasion; it was said that the Emperor himself intended his army to advance on Lyons and Avignon. Germany was alight with the flames of the Reformation, and the peasants had already risen in a formidable rebellion. The declining Papacy feared the loss of its spiritual power as well as its territorial state. But from this crisis the Roman idea of the Imperium might once more issue under the form of universal dominion; and the history of the time was consequently directed towards averting this danger. The first attempt made naturally proceeded from the Papacy's impulse towards self-preservation; the Papacy, which now, as in the time of Innocent III., represented the degenerate Italian nation. The spiritual power once more stood in opposition to the imperial, and attracted everything that warred against the German imperial ideal. Emperor and Pope avoided an open breach. They warded it off by the treaty of April, but at the same time that Clement VII.

strove to save himself, he endeavoured to undermine the greatness of the Emperor.

The Pope tries to form a coalition of the powers against the Emperor.

This might be done by a rising of the Italians and an alliance of the powers. Of the Italian states, Venice, although on the decline, was the only one that could pursue an independent policy. Soon after the victory at Pavia the republic invited the Pope and the Florentines to form a league, while her envoy in London strove to secure the adherence of England. Against the wishes of the Regent Louise of Savoy, great nobles of France, Antoine of Lorraine, François of Bourbon, Claude of Guise made proposals to other Italian princes.[1] Clement himself entered into negotiations with France. Nothing but an alliance between several powers quickly set in motion would deprive the Emperor of the fruits of victory. As early as March the papal nuncios had endeavoured to work on the King of England and Wolsey; recommending to them "the salvation of the world and unhappy Christianity."[2] After the defeat of France, England, whose impressionable monarch had shown such fervour against Luther's heresy, was above all the power that must be gained. The Pope sent the Cavaliere Casale to the English court, Henry VIII. the Bishop of Bath to Rome. The King had soon after cause of annoyance with the Emperor, for Charles rejected his scheme of utterly crushing France and allowing Henry to set up as ruler, and refused also to consign

Hostile attitude of England towards the Emperor.

[1] Bucholtz, iii., at the beginning.

[2] *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 157. Giberti to the Nuncios in England, Rome, March 16, 1525.

him as spoils Normandy, Guienne and Gascony, ancient possessions of England. Had Charles conquered simply in order to unite England with France? He merely wished to weaken the French crown, by snatching from it Burgundy and Provence and forcing it to renounce all claims in Italy.[1] Wolsey, who could not brook the fact that the Emperor had opposed him in the papal election, incited Henry against him. As early as April 25 the Regent of the Netherlands informed the viceroy that a league was on foot between the Pope, England and France.[2]

In Switzerland, whose mercenaries had once saved Julius II., the zealous nuncio Ennio Filonardo, Bishop of Veroli, warned the confederates of the prospect of losing their ancient glory. He represented the danger that threatened them from Austria, and besought them to keep 10,000 men ready to march on Milan. In France the Regent was persuaded that the King might be released and the monarchy restored, not by negotiations with the Emperor, but by a rapid military attack. Venice, where Canossa was envoy of the Regent, showed itself no less eager than the Pope. After peace had been concluded between France and England in September 1525, France and Italy were to be united; these powers, the Pope, the Kings of Scotland, Portugal, Hungary, Navarre, the republic of Venice, Savoy, Ferrara, the Dukes of Lorraine

[1] Ranke, iv. c. i. Mignet, *Rivalité de Charles V. et de François I. Revue des deux mondes*, 1866.

[2] Bucholtz, ii. 304.

and Geldres, the Swiss and Montferrat were to form a great alliance.[1]

This alliance, which was urged with fervour by Giberti and Alberto Pio, the French envoy in Rome, according to the nature of all leagues, could only become effective by slow degrees; it might possibly however be hastened by a revolution in Italy. And for such a revolution Girolamo Morone prepared the plan. A Milanese, Morone had begun his career in the service of Lewis XII., when Lewis ruled in Milan; had afterwards entered Sforza's service, and was now Chancellor of Duke Francesco; a consummate diplomatist, a gifted but unscrupulous man belonging to the school of Machiavelli's *Prince*, but nevertheless an Italian patriot.[2] The unfortunate Sforza, for whose restoration Morone had done so much, acquiesced in his secretary's scheme, since of his own territories, the life-blood of which was drained by the Spanish soldiery, he retained nothing but the chief fortresses: the actual ruler was Charles, and his suspicion that the Emperor would, on the first opportunity, unite the duchy with his crown was but too well-founded.

Conspiracy of Girolamo Morone.

Morone's bold scheme was to form a league of freedom among the Italians and to guide their national feeling in the great conflict. With a mighty effort all these foreigners, Frenchmen, Spaniards

[1] Letter of Giberti concerning the scheme: *Lett. di Princ.*, i., July 1525, and despatches in Rawdon Brown's *Calendar — of Venice*, iii.

[2] That the same object, a united Italy, hovered before his eyes is indeed indubitable. Villari, *Machiavelli*, iii. 298.

and imperialists, were to be driven back across the Alps. For this purpose the first general of the Emperor was to be made head of the league.

Morone and Pescara.

Pescara, whom the Pope and Morone believed capable of repeating Bourbon's treachery, now generalissimo of the army, was seriously dissatisfied; the Viceroy, who had not fought at all, enjoyed the honours of the victory. The Marquis also complained of many other slights; the fiefs of Sora and Carpi, that he had hoped for, had not been given him.[1] His discontent was believed to be sufficient to drive him to treason. Dazzling offers could be held out to him: if he would induce the imperial army to revolt, if he would win over some of the generals and would cause others, especially Leyva, to be murdered; if he placed himself at the head of the Italian league, made Sforza Duke in Milan, it was possible he might then ascend the throne of Naples, receiving investiture from the Pope. In this wise he might drive the French and Spaniards from Italy, and acquire undying fame as the deliverer of his native country.

Pescara, married to Vittoria Colonna, a Roman, and daughter of the celebrated Fabrizio, was himself a Neapolitan by birth, but a Spaniard by descent from the ancient house of Avalos, which in the person of Don Innigo had come to Italy under

[1] The Emperor set a high value on Pescara's services. After the battle of Pavia, he wrote his wife a flattering letter, to which she sent her thanks from Ischia on May 1, 1525. *D. V. Ces. et Cat. Mstà humiliss. serva et vasalla Victoria Colonna de davalos.* Original in the Gonzaga Archives.

Alfonso I.[1] And Pescara invariably felt as a Spaniard. He had dedicated his service to the Emperor, and had largely contributed to Charles's greatness in Italy. If his feelings of honour and his conscience—which, after all, is doubtful—revolted against treachery to his master, the unscrupulous Pope was ready to remove his doubts by releasing him from his oath and explaining to him that Naples was legally a fief of the Church, Pescara consequently a servant of the Pope rather than of the Emperor.

It was a solemn moment when the wily Italian appeared as tempter before the Spanish hero. The audacity of unfolding such a scheme was equalled by the art requisite for concealing the feverish impatience with which the Marchese's reception of the idea was awaited. Before Morone disclosed his mission, Pescara promised to keep silence even to the Emperor concerning the secret entrusted to him. He listened calmly, and then answered that the matter which had been confided to him was weighty, and no less weighty the fact of its being confided. The idea of becoming the liberator of Italy required mature reflection, and would be impossible without the adhesion of Venice and the Pope. He dismissed the secretary in the belief, which was justified, that if not gained, he might be.

[1] Don Innigo de Avallos was taken prisoner with this king at Ponza, fought at Otranto and died in Naples. His son Alfonso, first Marchese of Pescaro, was the father of Hernando; his mother, a daughter of the house of Cardona. *Historia del fortissimo y prudentiss. Capitan Don Hernando de Avalos Marques de Pescara, en Anvers* 1570.

The position in which the Marchese found himself reminds us of that of Belisarius, when the Goths offered the Byzantine the kingdom of Italy if he would renounce the Emperor. For a time prospects so alluring might have induced a general of equal ambition and less moral sense to ponder the matter; but if Pescara weighed the proposal, there is no doubt that he quickly put temptation aside. The Spanish grandee hated the Italians, with whose faithlessness he was already sufficiently acquainted, and whose national decadence he despised. The dazzling scheme was indeed nothing but the fantastic suggestion of weakness and despair. How would it have been possible for Pescara to induce his army, proudly patriotic as it was, and the chivalry of so many officers, to renounce their master, as Bourbon —who was despised in Spain—had done? And even if he succeeded, how could he retain the throne of Naples in face of the factions there and against the imperial forces?[1] The Italians hated Pescara, who could be cruel and crafty, and whom they also considered false. "I remember," said Guicciardini, "that in the time of Leo X. Morone frequently observed that there was no one of greater malice and less fidelity than the Marchese of Pescara." It is therefore all the more astonishing that Morone dared reckon on the fidelity of such a man.[2]

[1] Sepulveda also, official historiographer to Charles V., declares that Pescara only wished to discover the plans of the conspirators: *De reb. gestis Caroli V.*, vi. c. 8. Sandoval calls him *verdadero Español, Castellano viejo.*

[2] Guicciardini, xvi. 179 . . . *capitano altiero—insidioso, maligno, senz' alcuna sincerità*: and Vettori seems to have borrowed this

Believing that the game was won, he carried on negotiations with Venice, and sent the Genoese Domenico Sauli to Rome. The Pope with wary eagerness entered into the treacherous scheme, which apparently had been framed at his own suggestion. Giberti warned him at the beginning, and he then embraced the project with enthusiasm. To the mind of this priest the end justified the immorality of the means. Two great jurists, Cardinal Accolti and Angelo de Cesi, were privately instructed to draw up an opinion showing the rights of the Pope to the disposal of the crown of Naples, and by this means to remove Pescara's scruples.[1]

The Pope joins the conspiracy.

While this conspiracy was in progress, the Marchese, who had at once initiated Bourbon, Leyva and Nagera into the secret, informed the Emperor of the disclosures which had been made to him, and Charles commanded him to continue the negotiations with Morone, and then act according as his judgment dictated. Troops were collected in Trent, the fortresses in Milanese territory were strengthened; treachery was already suspected in Rome, especially

opinion. The views of the Italians were biassed by national hatred, especially after the failure of the intrigue. Brantôme, *Vies des homm. illus.* (v. 151), maintains that Pescara only abandoned the scheme in fear that the Queen-Mother Louise would prove a traitress. Bucholtz, iii. 7, rejects all suspicion of Pescara's fidelity. The justice of his view is confirmed by Pescara's account to the Emperor (Hormayr, *Archiv. für Geogr.*, *Hist.*, etc., 1810, p. 28). From the trial itself and Pescara's letters to Morone it is evident that Pescara throughout was only cunningly entrapping his tempter.

[1] Capella, v. 1144. A. de Cesis was Bishop of Cervia; *homo damnatae conscientiae, qui jus et injuriam venalem semper habuit*: Jacob Ziegler, *Hist. Clem. VII.*, in Schelhorn, *Amoenit.* ii., 345.

since a courier, sent with letters to France, had disappeared in Lombardy. On October 14, 1525, Pescara caused Morone to be summoned to a secret conference in his palace at Novara. He came in spite of many doubts and warnings. He unreservedly made disclosures, which were listened to by Leyva, who was concealed behind a curtain. On leaving the room he was seized in the name of the Emperor and taken to the fortress of Pavia. But Pescara could not entirely acquit himself of the promises he had made, and the audacity of the man had also left an impression on him. He brought him to trial, and wrested from him the desired confessions.[1] He then interceded in his behalf with the Emperor, for a man of such talent might be turned to good purpose. He begged Charles to restore him to freedom and to spare his life and property, and these requests he repeated in his will. Sending Lope Hurtado to the Pope, Pescara informed him of Morone's imprisonment, and the terrified Clement hereupon sent Paul of Arezzo, his secretary, to the Marchese, imploring him not to be over-hasty.[2] Pescara's fidelity to his master must

Morone arrested.

[1] *Examen Hieron. Moroni detenti in carcerib. marchionis Piscariae, in arce Papiae die* 25. *Oct.* 1525, in Tullio Dandolo, *Ricordi inediti di Ger. Morone*, Milan, 1855, p. 148. According to Morone's statements the authors of the scheme were the Pope, Giberti and Venice, and their agent Sauli had requested him to make the proposals to Pescara in the name of the Pope.

[2] *A pregarlo per beneficio del Imper. a voler andar circumspecto in queste cose et non causar tanta suspicion in la mente de li principi di Italia.* Francesco Gonzaga to the Marchese of Mantua, Rome, November 4, 1525. Gonzaga Archives. With 1525 begin the Roman Reports of Francesco, brother of the Marchese, who remained

have put Bourbon to shame, but his insincere conduct towards Morone remains a stain on the character of the celebrated general. As to how far he himself had been an accomplice remains unknown. The Italians reproached him as a traitor, and in Morone's conspiracy saw nothing but an honourable and patriotic action.[1] No greater man was forthcoming to save Italy in the most terrible crisis of her history; her leaders were miserable diplomatists, a Clement VII., a Morone, a Giberti. The essential worth of the school of Machiavelli's *Prince* was now revealed. The nation itself, almost devoid of civic strength and virtue, incapable of every lofty enthusiasm, intoxicated by its culture, was ripe for servitude to its own priests and to foreign conquerors.

The conspiracy had the opposite effect to that which its authors intended; it paved the way to Charles's taking possession of Milan and placed new weapons in his hands against the unmasked enemy. Pescara now compelled Sforza to surrender his

for years the ambassador of Mantua in Rome: these reports are preserved, almost complete, in the Gonzaga Archives, a jewel among those of Italy. I must here acknowledge the kindness and assistance which I met with at the hands of Signor Zucchetti, Director, and Signor Davari, the Secretary of the Archives. These were admirably kept under the Austrian government, and now belong to the city of Mantua.

[1] His bitterest accuser is Guicciardini: Pescara's conduct was *eterna infamia*. Reissner, intelligibly enough, has nothing but praise: "This dear captain neither sought nor seized wealth in war, but mortgaged his estates and paid interest to the usurers."—The Pope himself said to the orator Gonzaga: *Pescara ha fatto il tratto doppio*; then in his agitation returned to a belief in Morone's treachery: Despatches of this envoy, November 4 and 24, 1525.

fortresses, with the exception of the citadel in Milan,[1] as a vassal of the Emperor, guilty of felony. From Milan itself he received the oath of homage to the Emperor. He everywhere installed imperial officials. When he finally demanded the surrender of the fortress in which the ailing duke lay, with 800 men, and his demand was refused, he besieged it. On November 30, 1525, however, Pescara died, only thirty-six years of age, of consumption contracted in the hardships of his campaigns; or, as it was suspected, poisoned by his enemies. He was loaded with denunciations by the Italians, but regarded by the imperialists as one of the greatest captains of the time, and idealised by the love of his wife, whose poems would have handed down his name to posterity, even had his hundred deeds of military valour not served to do so.

Death of Pescara, Nov. 30, 1525.

Negotiations for peace were meanwhile continued at Madrid. The Queen Mother was anxious for it, in order to release her son as soon as possible. But such was not the view of the Pope. Only with surprise can we read the letters of his secretary of state, in which the regent is implored to sacrifice maternal love to political reasons, and instead of articles of peace to grasp the sword. Irritated at the indecision of the French regency, Giberti likens

[1] The correspondence on the subject between Sforza and Pescara is to be found in M. Sanuto, vol. xl. fol. 140 *sq.* And *ibid.*, fol. 282, *sommario di la relation di Ser Marco Anton. Venier el dotor venuto orator di millan fatta impregadi adi 4 Nov.* 1525. Venier estimates the revenues of the duchy of Milan at 320,000 ducats.

Canossa's despatches to romances and poems.[1] France meanwhile was crippled by the blow received at Pavia, and it was also in the nature of things that a league should only be formed by slow degrees. But it could scarcely have been concluded had Charles V. shown moderation, and had he not incensed his enemies to the uttermost by the occupation of Milan.

On December 6, 1525, his envoy Don Michael Herrera came to Rome with proposals of peace. He found the Pope, conscious of his relations with Morone, in no slight perplexity. The Emperor, however, kept silence on the subject. When in the beginning of 1526 Clement sent Herrera back to Madrid, he threw all the blame of the conspiracy on Morone, and on Pescara, who could no longer defend himself.[2] He implored Charles to forgive the Duke, to leave Milan alone and thus restore quiet to Italy.[3] To the Emperor himself peace with France seemed the best means of averting the league and soothing distracted Italy. He wished to bestow the Duchy of Milan on Bourbon

[1] *Come dilettano i libri de' Romanzi, et l'altre poesie, cosi sono molto belle a vedere le lettere di V. S. Lettere di Princ.*, i. 175.

[2] Afterwards Clement did not deny his participation in the conspiracy: on June 23, 1526, he wrote to Charles: *nemini mirum esse debet, si quae in tui detrimentum a Ferdinando Piscario occulta consilia haberi ceperant, cum ad nos delata essent, non penitus aspernati sumus*: Raynald, n. xi. The entire letter is published by Balan, *Mon. Saec. XVI. Historiam illustrantia*, Innsbrück, 1885, p. 364. The Emperor made unsparing use of the revelations concerning the Pope's breach of faith in his Manifesto of September 17, 1526.

[3] *Lett. di Princ.*, i. 177; Rome, December 16, 1525.

in order that Bourbon might renounce the projected marriage with his sister Eleanor. He would release Francis I., but on conditions such as would secure him the fruits of the victory at Pavia.

Seldom have more difficult negotiations been transacted in a Council of State than those at the Spanish court on the question of the conditions to be imposed on Francis I. The terms suggested by magnanimity must be rejected by policy, and in any case it was certain that the deeply offended King would remain the lifelong enemy of the Emperor. It is doubtful whether Charles V. would have obtained more had he emulated the kindness of Duke Visconti towards his prisoner Alfonso of Aragon. The conditions, however, which he extorted from Francis I. could never be kept by the King. Immediately after the victory of Pavia the imperial chancellor, in the flush of greatness, had declared to the envoy of Venice that the Emperor as lord of the world was justified in claiming the whole of France; nevertheless he would only take that which had formerly belonged to Charles of Burgundy; Provence was his by the same rights as Naples; Languedoc the property of the crown of Aragon, and Dauphiné a fief of the empire. In Madrid it was not only demanded that Francis I. should resign all his claims on Italy, but also that he should renounce Burgundy with some parts of France, should restore Bourbon to his possessions, and in token of his lasting alliance with Charles should marry the Emperor's sister Eleanor. This sister, the widowed Queen of

Portugal, had recently been destined as the wife of the Constable.

The King found it compatible with his honour to make a secret reservation to his oath, and then on February 14, 1526, to perjure himself to the peace. According to the terms of this treaty his two sons were to serve as hostages, and in case of the non-fulfilment of the articles he was himself to return as a prisoner to Spain. The moral code of kings in the sixteenth century no longer resembled that in the fourteenth, when a monarch of the same France voluntarily entered the Tower of London, preferring captivity to perjury.[1]

Peace of Madrid, Feb. 14, 1526.

Scarcely had Francis returned to his kingdom in the beginning of March, when Charles's enemies besought him not to keep the peace, to which he had been forced. The Pope sent him as nuncio the Mantuan knight Capino to ascertain the King's intentions. Charles had communicated to the Pope the terms of the treaty of Madrid, and explained that he was not in truth disinclined to reinstate Sforza in Milan, but that this depended on the issue of the suit that was brought against him; if Sforza's guilt were proved, he would bestow the investiture of Milan on Bourbon. The Pope, however, wished above all things to see Milan free. He could not tolerate the weakening of France; the breach of the peace, the league and the war seemed to him the only means for the deliverance

[1] *Ainsi allait la foi publique au XVI. siècle!* exclaims Champollion-Figeac, who condemns the King's perjury: *Captivité du roi François I.*, Introduction, lvii.

of Italy and the State of the Church. He rejected the proposals of the Emperor and drove the King to perjury. England and Venice also aided in the latter work.[1]

The States of Burgundy, as might have been expected, laid their veto on the cession of the province, and Francis I. explained that the fulfilment of the conditions of peace was impossible. He offered Charles a large sum of money instead of Burgundy, and Charles declined the offer. The whole of Europe waited in suspense. The league against the Emperor was pushed forward, while at the same time the powers hesitated to conclude it. No one suffered more than the despicable Clement VII., the soul of the whole great undertaking. At length he decided to join the league before the fall of the fortress of Milan, which was sorely pressed. On May 22, 1526, at Cognac in France, in the name of the Pope, the King of France, the Doge Andrea Gritti, the Florentines and Duke Sforza, was concluded the league called the Holy Alliance, although so little religion did it contain that one of its conditions was the Pope's solemn absolution of Francis I. of perjury.[2] The King of England, who did not openly join it, was appointed protector of the league, in the hope that within three months he would become a member;

The League of Cognac.

[1] See the letters of Guicciardini, who was in Rome, to the Protonotary Gambara, who was sent to England, Rome, April 21, and May 3, 1526: *Lettere e Istruzioni: Opere inedite di Fr. Guicciardini*, ed. Canestrini, Florence, 1863, vol. iv.

[2] Holy League at Cognac, May 22, 1526: Dumont, iv. i. 451.

Ferrara was not included. Thus was war declared between the spiritual and temporal authority, between a great number of the powers of Europe and the Emperor; and by this war was to be decided the fate of Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

1. Clement VII. as Leader of Italy in the War for Independence — The Emperor sends Moncada to the Pope—Clement rejects his Proposals—Pompeo Colonna and the Ghibellines—Unfortunate Beginning of the War of the League—Unsuccessful Attempt of the Duke of Urbino against Milan — The Colonna attack Rome, September 20, 1526 — Sack of the Borgo — Clement forced into a Disgraceful Treaty—Manifesto of the Emperor to the Pope—Diet of Speyer—Progress of the Reformation.

Clement had done violence to his nature in forming the one bold resolution of his life. The question at stake was the deliverance of Italy, and perhaps of Europe, from the Caesarism against which the popes from Hildebrand onwards had incessantly made war, and which they had finally overcome. In 1526 for the last time a pope appeared as the representative of the Italian people, but this pope was the miserable Clement VII., who was incapable of anything more than spoiling by a petty and Medicean family policy the great aim set before him.

He reckoned on the superior strength of the league, the irritated patriotism of the Italians, and the rapid operations of 10,000 Swiss mercenaries. He made certain of victory.[1] Milan was ready for revolt, conspiracies were afoot in Lodi, Cremona and Pavia. The Venetians, under their captain-general the Duke of Urbino, were to cross the Adda, and in June the papal forces under Rangone, Vitelli, Giovanni Medici and Francesco Guicciardini, lieutenant-general of the Pope, assembled at Piacenza. It was necessary to relieve the fortress of Milan as quickly as possible. The French fleet under Pedro Navarro, the papal under Andrea Doria were first to conquer Genoa and then to attack Naples. Thoughtful-minded men like Sadoleto and Castiglione, Nuncio in Spain, had counselled peace, but Clement and Giberti, who burned with hatred against the Emperor, desired war.[2] The foremost statesmen of Italy, Machiavelli, Vettori and Guicciardini, all declared the war a holy and necessary national event. Guicciardini especially urged it on the

[1] *Il n'est possible, sire, de veoir homme plus content et déliberé qu'est le pape, qui c'est levé le masque tout et oultre et parle de présent sans nul respect, de quoy tant de gens sont esbays. Lettere de Nic. Raince à François I.* 9 *Juin* 1526. Mignet, *Rivalité*, etc., p. 17. On June 10 Giberti wrote to the Bishop of Veroli: *questa guerra non è o per un pontiglio d'honore, o per una vendetta, o per la conversatione d'una città, ma in essa si tratta o della salute, o della perpetua servitù di tutta Italia* (*Lettere di Princ.*, i. 193).—Clement hoped to end the war in fifteen days. Letter of Machiavelli to a friend, *Opere*, xi. 257.

[2] Castiglione to the Pope, Toledo, December 28, 1525, *Lett. di Negozi*, ii. iv. 19, and other letters, in which he complains of the levity of the Pope's counsellors, *che faranno perder la pazienza all' Imperatore.*

Pope.[1] But an evil star ruled over this Medici and led him from error into error.

The league of Cognac took Charles by surprise, and he was unprepared in Lombardy. After his envoy in Rome had vainly striven to detach the Pope from the league of the powers, the Emperor sent to him Ugo Moncada. The Spanish adventurer was once more to appear on the scene with which he had been intimately acquainted from the time of the Borgias. A descendant of a noble house, he had come as a youth with Charles VIII. to Italy, had entered the pay of Caesar Borgia, and on the death of Alexander VI. had gone over to Gonsalvo. He had served in the naval war against the Moors, and as a knight of Rhodes had been rewarded with a commenda in Calabria. Charles had made him viceroy of Sicily, where he was hated on account of his cruelty. Taken captive by the French in a naval battle, he had been exchanged for Montmorency, and from his prison had first gone to Spain, then returned to Italy and been made admiral of the imperial fleet. A man wholly of the school of the Borgia, he could now render good service in Rome.[2]

Ugo Moncada sent to the Pope.

Moncada came on June 17. Four days previously the Pope had ratified the conclusion of the league.

[1] *Una guerra desiderata estremamente da tutta Italia, come giudicata necessaria alla salute universale*: Guicciardini, *Discorsi Politici, Opp. ined.*, i. 393. And his self-reproach and justification: *Ricordi, ibid.*, x. 103 *sq.*

[2] In 1502 with Alegre he had accompanied Madonna Lucrezia to Ferrara as Caesar's cavalier.—See concerning him Jovius, *Elog.*, vi., and Reissner, iv. 79.

The Spaniard had been instructed either to persuade the Pope to form a treaty, or to enter into the scheme of Pompeo, who had promised the emperor by means of a revolution in Rome to reduce the Pope to subjection.[1] Pompeo had hated Clement since the time of the Council, and so independent did a cardinal, especially if of illustrious family, feel himself at this time, that he regarded his dignity as prince of the church as something personal, that might be sacrificed to higher considerations, namely to those of the general good and the benefit of his house.[2] Moncada explained at the Vatican that Charles was ready to restore Milan to the Sforza, but that the honour of the emperor demanded that sentence should be pronounced upon the Duke. Clement answered that, forced to take arms, he would only lay them down if the emperor gave freedom to Italy and released the sons of Francis I.; for the rest he could not decide anything without his allies. Moncada offered to set Milan free if the Pope and the Italian powers would furnish the pay of the imperial army. Clement turned for advice to the envoys of France and England and refused any separate treaty. Even the offer was rejected that

Moncada's proposals are refused.

[1] Charles to Moncada, Granada, June 11, 1526: *que el* (Card. Col.) *tenia buena disposicion para echar el papa de Roma y resolver Sena y aun Florencia y algunas tierras de la iglesia contra su Santitad*: Lanz, *Corresp. des Kaisers Carl V.*, i. n. 91.

[2] The manner in which Jovius depicts this conflict in his laborious but clever biography of Pompeo is very characteristic: *Sed in generoso militarique ingenio ea sententia facile pervicit, ut privatae dignitati publicum decus, quod cum salute familiae conjunctum videretur, praeferret.* The idea of placing this cardinal on the same level as Bourbon would never have occurred to anyone at this time.

for the sake of peace the emperor should refer the decision of all the questions in dispute to the Pope. Letters had been intercepted from Del Vasto and Leyva to Moncada and the imperial envoys, in which the writers represented their position in Milan as desperate, and urgently desired a compromise with the Pope. The fact may have influenced Clement's insane resolution: he determined on war.

On June 20 Moncada and Sessa left the Vatican, with threats. The envoy of the emperor so far forgot himself as to take a fool behind him on the saddle, who by his grimaces in sight of the people gave expression to the contempt which Moncada felt. The ambassadors informed the emperor that the Pope was his avowed enemy; the Italians were no less hostile, while the condition of the unpaid troops allowed the worst to be feared. He must send money and soldiers, must despatch Bourbon to Lombardy and Lannoy to Naples. They summoned their Ghibelline sympathisers, and the populace grew restless.[1] On June 26 Moncada left Rome, to betake himself to the Colonna. On the 29th Sessa presented the white mule to the Pope, without, however, offering any further tribute, and then went to Marino. Vespasiano and Pompeo already collected troops under the eyes of the Pope, who made Stefano Colonna and the Orsini combine

Clement VII. declares himself hostile to the Emperor.

[1] Mignet, *ut supra*, p. 20. On June 24, 1526, Alberto Pio writes to Francis I. concerning the plans of the imperialists: Molini, *Doc.*, ii. 203.—With regard to Moncada's audience, *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 209 *sq.*, Letters of June 19, 23, 25.

to prepare for a campaign against Naples. On June 23 Clement had sent a letter of refusal to the emperor, in which he laid the responsibility of the war on Charles's insatiable ambition; as for himself, nothing but regard for the freedom of Italy and the Sacred Chair forced him to take up arms.[1] Scarcely was the letter despatched when he repented; on June 25 he wrote in milder terms and ordered his nuncio Castiglione not to deliver the first letter. But it was too late.

The war began under evil auspices. The Venetians did not cross the Adda, the Swiss did not appear; the auxiliaries who were to have come with the Marchese di Saluzzo were not equipped. And already in June the news arrived that an army of landsknechts was collecting in the Tyrol. Clement was afraid of being deserted by the French court, with which the viceroy was holding negotiations; he besought the King not to allow himself out of love for his children to be enticed into making terms with Charles; he urged Henry VIII. to join the league. Giberti burned with zeal. In reading his letters to the nuncios abroad it is difficult to believe that they were written by a priest, and still more surprising is it to see the insignificant means with which was waged so great a war.[2]

[1] Raynald, n. xi., and Goldast, *Polit. Imp.*, 987. The letter is well written. Charles only received it on August 12, in Granada (Sandoval, i. 470), and answered it on September 17.

[2] The letters in the *Lett. di Princ.*, from June 1526 onwards, frequently offend us by their frivolous loquacity. The nuncios at the time were in France Capino (who soon returned), in England

A revolt in Milan was unsuccessful, and it appeared as if Sforza must fall a victim to starvation in the fortress; on June 20 the imperialists had disarmed the city and expelled the nobility. The capture of Lodi by assault by the Venetian general Malatesta Baglione on June 24 was the sole success of the league. There the papal troops finally united with the Venetians, and the joint army of 20,000 men advanced against Milan on July 7. But precisely at this crisis Bourbon, the imperial governor, marching from Genoa with fresh troops and some money, succeeded in reaching the city, where lay 7000 famished Spaniards and landsknechts under Leyva and Vasto; and the allies, in consequence of his arrival, withdrew to Marignano on July 8. With this retreat the Duke of Urbino inaugurated the tactics of procrastination, to which he henceforward adhered. No member of the league trusted another. Venice suspected that the Pope carried on negotiations with the Emperor; the Pope suspected the same of France; the attitude of the Duke of Urbino appeared suspicious to Guicciardini. For the Duke from Marignano idly watched the sufferings of Milan, where the Spaniards treated the people like a set of slaves. Not until he was joined by a few thousand Swiss did he advance, and then without any attempt to relieve the city. Sforza surrendered on July 24, and withdrew to Lodi; Urbino, despairing of the conquest of Milan, laid siege to Cremona. About

The army of the League advances before Milan.

Sforza capitulates in Milan.

Gambara, the Bishop of Veroli still in Switzerland, Monsignor di Pola in Venice, Castiglione in Madrid.

the same time an enterprise undertaken against the imperialist city of Siena, where the Pope favoured Fabio Petrucci, son of Pandolfo, failed. The Orsini of Anguillara and Pitigliano, as well as the Florentines, were ignominiously put to flight, and the prestige of the Pope received a blow.[1] The lukewarmness of the French Court made him despondent; he sent Sanga to urge the King to despatch troops to Lombardy and to undertake the expedition against Naples before the viceroy returned with the Spanish fleet.

Movement of the Ghibellines in Rome.

The Ghibelline party in Latium raised their heads. After a long interval they saw the empire, revived and powerful, at war with the Papacy. Ancient ideas of independence reawoke. True that the Roman civic spirit was extinct; that the principle of Roman liberty was only represented, and that from selfish motives, by the barons. But nevertheless it was quite evident that the antagonism to papal dominion still survived, and that, when it summoned an emperor, a Ghibelline party was still forthcoming. This party was headed by Pompeo and his brothers Marcello and Giulio, Vespasiano Colonna of Fundi, son of Prospero, and Ascanio with his natural brother Sciarra. It was also joined by Caesar Gaetani of Filettino, Mario Orsini, Giambattista Conti, and Girolamo Estouteville,

[1] F. Vettori to Machiavelli, Flor., August 7, 1526: *Lettere di famil. N. Mach. Opere*, xi. 250. The victory was sung in Siena: *Vittoria gloriosissima de li Sanesi contro ali Florentini nel piano di Camollia a di* 25. *di Lugio A.* 1526. In ottava rima, printed at the time and inserted by Tizio in his History of Siena. (Chigi Library.)

Count of Sarni. Their idea was to render Clement powerless by a sudden attack. While Moncada discussed the plan with the Colonna, the Duke of Sessa fell ill at Marino. He caused himself to be conveyed to Rome, and even from his death-bed advised the Colonna to dupe the Pope by a treaty. Don Luis De Corduba died on the Quirinal on August 18.[1]

Clement had already issued warnings to the barons: under pretext of obtaining a reconciliation with him, they now sent Vespasiano to Rome, and on August 22 a treaty was actually concluded; the Colonna surrendered Anagni and other places; they retired again to Neapolitan territory, where they could serve the emperor; the Pope granted them an amnesty and removed the monitorium which he had issued against Pompeo. No one was to invade their property. This treaty, from which Giberti vainly strove to dissuade his master, and for which the Cardinal Della Valle gave security, revealed the utter weakness of the Pope. He incurred the contempt of friends as well as enemies. Trusting to the promises of Vespasiano, in his economy he dismissed the greater part of the troops, which, under the Count of Anguillara and Paolo Baglione, he had brought to Rome. Scarcely

Treaty between the Colonna and the Pope, Aug. 22, 1526.

[1] The *Necrolog. Romanum* Mscr. Vat. 7871 registers: 18 *d. Aug.* 1526 *morì il commiserando Lodovico Duca di Sesse in monte cavallo nel palazzo del cardle Ivrea.* The affairs of the embassy were henceforward transacted by the Secretary Juan Perez, who remained in Rome until February 1528. The despatches during this period were published for the first time by Rodriguez Villa in *Memorias para la Historia del Saqueo de Roma*, Madrid, 1875.

had he done so when the Colonna occupied Anagni and pushed their forces on into the Latin mountains. They barred all the roads; no news of their movements reached Rome, and reports were not believed in. With forced marches the barons advanced against the city, and with them came Moncada as orator of the Emperor or representative of Sessa. They numbered 800 horse and 3000 infantry, and had some pieces of artillery, which were drawn by buffaloes. Pompeo Colonna may now have called to mind Sciarra, the bitter enemy of Boniface VIII. If, as he hoped, Clement perished in the tumult of war, he would compel the election of a candidate of his own.[1]

The Colonna invade Rome, Sept. 20, 1526.

In the early morning of September 20, the Colonna entered Rome by the Porta S. Giovanni. News arrived at the Vatican that the enemy had reached the Forum, and the terrified Pope summoned a consistory.[2] Thence Valle and Cibò were sent to the Colonna, Campeggi and Cesarini to the Capitol to exhort the people to defence. But what was the Capitol in the year 1526, and what were the Roman people, whose vigour and constitution had been destroyed by the popes? Clement had deliberately appointed only insignificant men as conservators.[3] The senator was Simone Tornabuoni

[1] In the Monitorium of November 8, 1526, Clement reproaches him with having said so in public.

[2] On September 20, 1526, took place the invasion of Rome by the Colonna, which was the prelude to the Sack. On September 20, 1870, the Italians entered the city by the breach at the Porta Pia; and there fell the temporal sovereignty of the Popes.

[3] *Cosi plebei, che vergognomi di nominarli*: Alberino, *Sacco di*

of Florence, a relation of Leo X. The Romans did not stir; "this," they told the Cardinals, "was not their affair but the Pope's." In spite of many good qualities, Clement was nowhere beloved. In 1526 Marco Foscari described him in the following words. "The Pope is 48 years old, a sensible man, but slow in decision, which explains his irresolution in action. He talks well, he sees everything, but he is very timid. He suffers no control in affairs of state; he listens to every one and then does as he pleases. He is just and god-fearing; in the Segnatura, where three cardinals and three referendaries are employed, he would do nothing to the prejudice of others. If he signs a petition he never revokes it, as did Pope Leo, who signed so many. He withdraws no benefices; he does not give them in simony; he takes no offices in conferring favours, as Leo and others did. He wishes everything to follow its lawful course. He gives away nothing, nor does he bestow the property of others. But he is considered avaricious. Pope Leo, however, was very liberal; he presented and gave away a great deal. This Pope is the opposite, and therefore people grumble in Rome. He gives largely in alms, but nevertheless he is not liked. He is very abstemious and is a stranger to all luxury.

Roma, MS. He mentions only Pietro Martuzzo. Reissner calls the three conservators "frivolous, dishonourable men," probably after Jovius, *Vita Pomp. Col.*, who says that they were Scarsius, a buffoon nicknamed Saccogelato, and the hated minister of finance Mario Perusco.

He will not listen to jesters or musicians, and never indulges in the chase or any other amusement. Since he has been Pope he has only twice left Rome to go to Magliana, and has very rarely visited his vineyard, which is only two miles off. His entire pleasure consists in talking to engineers concerning waterworks."[1]

The avarice of the Pope and the greed of Cardinal Armellino his camerlengo had seriously irritated the populace. One day in consistory, when certain taxes imposed by the camerlengo were under discussion, Cardinal Pompeo said aloud, that Armellino ought to be flayed and his skin shown for a quattrino in the State of the Church, and that money would then flow in abundantly. Citizens, officials and clergy were all oppressed with taxation. The monopoly of grain in the hands of usurers had produced great distress: the papal government was in consequence bitterly hated, and Clement could not complain if the Romans looked on the Colonna as deliverers.[2]

The populace receive the Colonna with joy.

Pompeo's heralds announced in the streets that no one had cause for dread, for the Colonnas only

[1] Report of May 2, 1526, in Albéri, p. 126. Foscari was ambassador in Rome from the year 1522 until April 18, 1526, when he left the city, and Domenico Venier remained behind as Orator of Venice.

[2] Concerning Armellino, see the account of Foscari quoted above. I found several letters from him, signed *Armellinus Medices*, in the Gonzaga Archives. Jovius (*Vita Pomp.*) gives as a reason for the dislike with which he was regarded, the wholesale way in which he had houses pulled down under pretext of improving the streets, but only in order to enrich a single Aedile. See also Varchi, *Storia Fior.*, ii. 23.

came to deliver Rome from the tyranny of the avaricious Pope. No house, no shop was closed; the entry of the Colonna was regarded simply as a spectacle.[1] The cardinals sent to Pompeo were not admitted to his presence, but with the shout of Freedom! Freedom! the troops marched to Trastevere, overpowering the scanty papal force at the Porta Santo Spirito, and then forcing their way into the Borgo. At first like Boniface VIII. the Pope determined that, seated on the throne, he would await the enemy, but Giberti and Filippo Strozzi persuaded him to accompany them to S. Angelo, whither Guillaume du Bellay the French ambassador also escaped. Priests laden with gold and silver rushed to the fortress. Others hid themselves in the city. The Swiss guard was also brought into S. Angelo, and the Vatican thus remained defenceless. The Pope's rooms, those of the Cardinals and the members of the Curia were forthwith emptied of their contents; the Basilica of S. Peter was ruthlessly sacked. Even papal soldiers with the shout of "Viva Spagna" mingled with the enemy to share the spoils.[2] The artillery, it is true, fired from the fortress, but they were only able to protect the Borgo Nuovo. Prisoners were taken and a ransom extorted;

The Vatican and Borgo sacked.

[1] *Ut Roman. Pop. avarissimi pontificis tyrannide liberarent*: Jovius, *Vita Pomp. Col.*—Attilius, a contemporary (Baluze, *Miscell.*, iv. 517), says of Pompeo: *flagrabat quippe amore Patriae quam omni immunitate exuerat Clemens.—In Roma non e stato fatto pur un minimo disordine*: Francesco Gonzaga to the Marchese, September 20, 1526. Gonzaga Archives.

[2] Sepulveda, ib. vi. 40, as eye-witness.

300,000 ducats was estimated as the cost of the depredations of but a few hours; for that very evening the horde, laden with plunder, retired to the quarter of the Colonna in such confusion that they might have been utterly put to rout by a few hundred men.[1]

Clement found himself overwhelmed with ignominy; a handful of vassals led by a rebellious cardinal had inflicted upon him an unspeakable insult, and the whole population of Rome had watched the attack almost with smiles! It was clear as day that the dominion of the popes over Rome was not based on the love of the people; that to the Romans it still appeared as a hated usurpation. S. Angelo had no provisions and was untenable, and Don Martino, nephew and orator of the King of Portugal, effected a treaty between the rebels and the Pope. The same evening through Schomberg Clement summoned Moncada to his presence. Pompeo, with whom at the time Moncada was in the Palazzo of SS. Apostoli, wished to dissuade him, but the astute Spaniard followed the invitation, which promised him that which he desired. He first received the cardinals Ridolfi and Cibò as hostages, and then went to S. Angelo. With secret joy the minister of Charles V. threw himself at the feet of the Pope,

Capitulation of the Pope in S. Angelo, Sept. 21, 1526.

[1] Girolamo Negri (*Lettere di Princ.*, i. 234) has given a vivid description of the Sack. Likewise Francesco Gonzaga in a despatch of September 21. The *Diar. Blasii de Cesena* (MS. Barberini) says: *depopulati sunt fere totum Palatium maxime res et bona Papae, et ejus familiarium, multor. Cardinalium, Praelator. mitras et res sacras et in Capella et Sacristia et in S. Petro Altaria.*

bewailed the utterly purposeless sack, and exhorted Clement to become reconciled to the great emperor, who did not desire to rule over Italy, although it belonged to him by ancient imperial rights. Moncada restored the silver papal staff and the tiara, which he had taken from the robbers, and from his hand these desecrated insignia appeared symbols of imperial investiture. The Pope bitterly lamented Vespasiano's breach of faith; he did not mention Pompeo's name, or only did so with irony. Yielding to necessity, he consented to a treaty, hoping for a reconciliation with the Emperor.

On September 21 the foreign envoys were summoned to S. Angelo, and here Moncada drew up the following agreement: a four months' truce was concluded between Clement and Charles; the Pope recalled his troops from Lombardy, his fleet from Genoa; the Colonna, to whom a full pardon was granted, retired to Naples.[1] In concluding this treaty, Clement, as one of his confidants openly avowed, had no intention of keeping it.[2] But Moncada had succeeded in his aim of detaching him from the league. He triumphantly informed the Emperor of his master-stroke; he did not hesitate to advise him to affect anger at the

[1] Molini, i. 229.

[2] *Con animo peró di non osservare cosa che prometessi, perche sendo forzato non era tenuto*: Vettori, *Sommario*, p. 369. On September 27 the Council of the Ten charges the Orator Venier to thank the Pope for determining to continue the war in Lombardy after the disgrace inflicted upon him: Venice Archives I., *Secret. Consilii*, x. fol. 88.

occurrence in order to give the Pope some satisfaction.[1] On the other hand the Colonna were angry with Moncada; they would have liked to storm the fortress, carry the Pope away a prisoner, and see Rome in revolt; they upbraided the Spaniard as a traitor who had been bribed. Their troops laden with spoils left the Baths of Diocletian, where they had been encamped, and withdrew to Grotta Ferrata on the morning of September 22, while, according to treaty, Moncada carried Filippo Strozzi, the husband of Clarice Medici, as hostage with him to Naples.[2] Clement was furious at the attitude of the Romans. "I will let them see," he said, "what the absence of the Pope means to Rome." His intention was to leave the city for a period.[3]

The Colonna leave Rome.

Even before Charles learnt of the conclusion of the treaty, he had issued a manifesto to the Pope from Granada on September 17; it was his answer to Clement's letter of June 23, and his justification

Manifesto of Charles V.

[1] *Me parece que V. Mad deve mostrar mucho sentimiento de lo acaescido a su santidad en esta jornada. . . .* Mignet, *ut supra*, p. 35. According to Castiglione's letter to Schomberg, Granada, November 11, 1526, *Lettere di Nigozi*, ii. lib. 6, p. 97, the Emperor's indignation was genuine (that is to say, that he only disapproved of the Sack).

[2] They departed on the morning of September 22: Despatch of Matteo Caselli to the Duke of Ferrara: Este Archives in Modena. According to Attilius (Baluze, *Miscell.*, iv. 517) Pompeo had the twelve silver statues of the Apostles in S. Peter's removed to Cervara. —Strozzi had shown himself very unwilling to serve as hostage, and Clement never forgave this.

[3] *Havendo mi detto che la li fara conoscer di ch' importantia serà il non haver Papa in Roma, che il dissegno de S. Stà era di far la vita sua almeno per un tempo fuori de qui*: Gonzaga's despatch, Rome, September 25, 1526.

against so many accusations, especially in regard to his dealings with Sforza. He therein designated Clement, and with perfect justice, as the author of the war, and threatened to summon a council.[1] On October 6 he also wrote to the Cardinals, that the Pope, forgetful of his duties, had rejected the proposals of peace and only thought of war, conspiracy and revolt against him, the emperor, to whom he owed so much; they ought to summon a council, since without a council the Lutheran movement could not be quelled; on the contrary Germany would be torn from the Catholic Church.

It was here seen how close were the relations between the German Reformation and the war, which Clement had so thoughtlessly invoked; he himself drove the emperor to look for allies in the Lutherans. Could Charles V. uphold the Edict of Worms in favour of a Pope, who made war upon him with all the weapons of treachery and force, who wished to deprive him of Naples, and, were he victorious, of the imperial crown also? The States had requested a council at Nuremberg, and when the imperial diet assembled at Speyer in June 1526, the party hostile to the Papacy already formed the majority, and with the consent of the Archduke Ferdinand, the momentous resolution was passed, that until a general council of the Church was convoked, each state, as regards the Edict of Worms, should bear itself as responsible

Decrees of reform passed at Speyer, June 1526.

[1] Charles's apology in Goldast, i. 479, Goldast, *Polit. Imp.*, 990. Sleidan, *De l'Estat de la Religion et République*, p. 41 *sq.*

to God and to the imperial majesty. The edict was thus not actually revoked by the emperor, but the Reformation was left to the States, and the territorial separation of the Church was thereby legally introduced. A revolution that could not be controlled overthrew the hierarchical constitution in the German empire and severed the centre of Europe from the Catholic faith. At the same time the Turks became masters of Hungary, whose young King Lewis II., brother-in-law of the Archduke Ferdinand, was killed at Mohacs on August 29, 1526. When the Pope looked on this general conflagration and reflected on his own case he must have despaired. After having driven the European powers to war with the emperor, he was himself disarmed in a few hours by an ignominious attack, and all his statecraft rent asunder like a spider's web. The emperor had contemptuously allowed him to receive a blow that warned him that he was dependent on the imperial favour. If he, the head of the entire undertaking, receded from it, must not the liberation of Italy also fail?

2. CLEMENT VIOLATES THE TREATY OF SEPTEMBER—FRUNDSBERG COLLECTS LANDSKNECHTS — THEIR MARCH TO ITALY — CLEMENT ATTACKS THE COLONNA — LANNOY LANDS AT GAETA — THE COLONNA AND LANNOY ADVANCE TO FROSINONE; FRUNDSBERG TO THE PO—FALL OF GIOVANNI MEDICI—BOURBON IN MILAN—HE JOINS FRUNDSBERG — THE UNITED FORCES MARCH AGAINST PARMA—FERRAMOSCA AS INTERMEDIARY IN ROME —VICTORY OF THE PAPAL TROOPS AT FROSINONE —EXPEDITION OF THE ARMY AND FLEET AGAINST NAPLES — THE ARMY DISBANDED — MARCH OF BOURBON'S TROOPS—TUMULT IN HIS CAMP—ILLNESS OF FRUNDSBERG — TREATY BETWEEN THE POPE AND LANNOY—LANNOY TRIES TO ARREST THE ADVANCE OF BOURBON'S ARMY—IT MARCHES AGAINST ROME.

The league achieved some measure of success after Saluzzo arrived to lay siege to Milan. Cremona and Pizzighettone surrendered. Genoa was besieged by the fleet under Doria, and the fall of Hungary made it impossible that German auxiliaries should be sent to Italy. News arrived of the conclusion of the treaty of September, and immediately the Duke of Urbino hurried to Mantua to spend his days with his wife in idleness; Guido Rangone went to Modena and Saluzzo remained in Asti. Clement ordered Guicciardini with his infantry to retire across the Po, but left Giovanni Medici with 4000 men of the army engaged in besieging Milan, under the pretext that he was

Clement recalls his troops from Lombardy.

in the French pay. Guicciardini implored the Pope not to observe the treaty; this would be the overthrow of the whole national enterprise. "Rather would I die," he wrote to Giberti, "than live in such disgrace." He delayed his withdrawal, but it was inevitable; on October 9 he was already at Piacenza.[1]

When Clement informed the Cardinals that he intended going to Barcelona to conclude peace with the emperor, his words were merely the expression of his despair and his indignation with the Romans. He submitted the idea, which he had previously formed, to the kings of France and England, who urgently dissuaded him and encouraged him to break the treaty that had been forced upon him.[2] Clement speedily resolved to adopt their counsel, and the day following the conclusion of the treaty sent Langey to France with an explanation declaring it null.[3] And yet the tranquillity with which Francis I. learnt of the attack on the Vatican should have served as a warning. Giberti bitterly complained of the indifference of the French Court; each side overwhelmed the other with reproaches.

Clement violates the treaty.

[1] *Vorrei prima morire mille volte che vivere con tanta indignità; che maladetto sia chi ha più paura de' pericoli che del male. Al Datario*; September 26, 1526, *Op. inedite*, iv. n. 140; and similar letters in the same collection, and in the *Lett. de' Princ.*, ii. 14 *sq.* On October 5 he writes: *mi pare la torre di Babel.*

[2] On October 18, 1526, Clement informs the King of Portugal of the attack made by the Colonna, on account of which he had been unable to carry out his idea of going to Spain. He proposes a congress and sends Don Martino to Portugal. *Ep. Sadoleti*, iv. n. 110.

[3] Guiseppe de Leva, ii. 379.

The Pope accused the French of negligence, since it had only been in full confidence of support that he had made war; he in turn was reproached with indecision.[1] The reproaches were well founded; for Clement invariably adopted half measures, and thus always allowed the right opportunity to escape.

When he ordered his troops to retreat across the Po he nevertheless wished that the war should be continued in the Milanese territory, and determined secretly to encourage it. He brought cavalry under Vitelli, the Swiss and the infantry of Giovanni Medici to Rome. Affairs assumed an increasingly threatening aspect. The treaty of September only remained good for four months; if nothing were settled within that time, the war might be turned against Rome itself. For precisely at this crisis the emperor sent fresh forces to Italy; the fleet with 7000 Spaniards and Germans under Alarcon was made ready, and with it Lannoy sailed from Carthagena to Naples on October 24. At the same time an army of landsknechts collected in Tyrol with the object of descending on Milan, which Bourbon had difficulty in defending against the allied army. Frundsberg, the chief captain of the county of Tyrol, the most celebrated German soldier of his time, was to lead this army into Italy.

Lannoy embarks for Naples.

[1] Giberti to Canossa, *Lett. di Princ.*, ii. 30. The learned Count Lodovico di Canossa was born in Verona in 1476. He came to Rome under Julius II., was made Bishop of Tricarico in 1511, frequently served as nuncio to Leo X., was nominated Bishop of Bayeux by Francis I., entered the King's service in 1520, and was his ambassador in Venice in 1526 and 1527. Giov. Orti Manara, *Intorno alla vita ed alle gesta del Conte Lod. di Canossa*, Verona, 1845.

The entreaties of Ferdinand and of the imperialists, who were reduced to dire straits in Lombardy, had prevailed on the already elderly hero once more to march for the honour of the emperor to the country, where since 1509 he had performed so many glorious deeds. He magnanimously banished from his mind his discontent; for his great services, especially those before Pavia, had never obtained adequate reward. Since, owing to the fall of Hungary, the Archduke was unable to send money or troops to Lombardy, Frundsberg mortgaged his own castles and property, even Mindelheim itself, and raised 38,000 florins, with which to pay a troop of soldiers. On October 26 he went to Tyrol, and collected thirty-five companies, 12,000 men strong, in Botzen and Meran. These were commanded by valiant leaders, his son Melchior, his brother-in-law Lewis count of Lodron, Count Christof of Eberstein, Alexander count of Cleven, Niclas lord of Fleckenstein, Albert of Freyberg, Conrad Boyneburg or Bemmelberg, called the little Hess, Claus Seidenstücker, Hans von Biberach and Sebastian Schertlin.

The landsknechts.

The formidable force, which was called "the pious landsknechts," at this time constituted the pith of the German army. They had originally been raised by Maximilian; Frundsberg had perfected their organisation and had imbued them with warlike spirit. They had arisen out of the disruption of chivalry, and since Kaiser Max himself had borne the lance on his shoulder, noble lords no longer disdained to serve in the ranks of the infantry. The force, raised from time to time in market

places and squares, was like the ancient companies of condottieri, an ordered military republic; and the commanding Colonel was a man of power. The articles of service contained the list of their duties and rights, their laws and their customs. Discipline was maintained by a large body of officials, quarter-master and commissary, magistrate, provost and sergeant, they were even provided with an executioner. The Colonel had his lieutenant. Captains commanded the companies or bands, of which ten, of more than four hundred men each, formed the regiment. The heavy banners were carried by ensigns. The brave and jovial lands-knechts fought with long lances in serried ranks. Before their "hedgehog" the French *hommes d'armes* often receded, and the Swiss, hitherto the strongest infantry in Europe, met in them their superiors. Some squadrons used muskets, but weapons of every kind — halberds, maces and hammers—were seen among them. A short sword hung from their girdle. Their clothing was not uniform. They marched in varied and fantastic attire, wearing coloured doublet, wide hose, leather jerkins, and coats of mail; on their heads helmets, spiked or otherwise, or hats with plumes.[1]

These landsknechts of Frundsberg, Swabians, Franconians, Bavarians, Tyrolese, young vigorous

[1] Concerning the landsknechts, see Barthold, *Georg von Frundsberg oder das deutsche Kriegshandwerk zur Zeit der Reformation*, Hamburg, 1833. In the State Library in Munich is preserved the "Lands-knechtsordnung," compiled by Conrad von Bemelberg in 1544. With regard to this celebrated leader, see E. Solger: *Der Landsknechts-obrist Konrad von Bemelberg, der kleine Hesz.* Nördlingen, 1870.

men from the mountains and country, under noble leaders who had won fame in Italy or in the Peasants' war, were urged no less by thirst of adventure and spoil than by fierce national hatred to cross the Alps and make war on the perjured enemy of the emperor. They were mainly Lutherans. Frundsberg himself leaned towards the new doctrines; it was said that he brought a cord woven with gold for the Pope's neck, and although his secretary Reissner declares the statement to have been a calumny, he nevertheless admits "that Frundsberg often said, that if he went to Rome he would hang the Pope." The march to Rome was a fixed idea in the mind of the German general; that which had been prevented by Lannoy's weakness after the victory of Pavia he would now accomplish.

Neither the warning vision of his brother Adam, nor the exhortations of the Bishop of Trent, nor afterwards those of Cardinal Bernard of Klosz, availed to dissuade Frundsberg from the dangerous expedition. He replied with his proverb, "many enemies, much honour; with God's help he would succeed in saving the emperor and his people." His object was to join Bourbon in Milan, but to reach Milan was a difficult task. For the allied army occupied not only the defiles near Verona, but all the remaining Alpine passes. Frundsberg would be obliged to cross the most untrodden mountains, and when he reached the Lombard plains his exhausted forces would be awaited by the enemy with artillery and cavalry. On November 12, 1526, with adventurous courage, he left Trent,

Frundsberg leads the landsknechts into Italy, Nov. 1526.

turned to the right among the mountains of Sarca above Lodron, and encamped opposite the gorge of Anfer, as if determined to storm it and open the pass to the Lago D'Idro. Then on November 16 he climbed the wild and high mountains between the lakes of Idro and Garda, his brother-in-law Lewis, Count of Lodron, acting as guide. The general, who was a corpulent man, was pushed forward by stalwart soldiers; while others formed with their spears a railing between him and the precipices. The troops thus reached Aha, the first Venetian village.[1] On November 19 they descended into level country at Gavardo in the district of Brescia, and here encountered the first troops of the astonished enemy. Wading through the rushing water, the landsknechts advanced through the Venetian province, beating the enemy off with their muskets, in the hope of reaching Milanese territory.

While the storm of war broke over Lombardy, the Pope in Rome gathered courage to form fresh resolutions. The war party urged him to break the treaty. If he lost the support of his allies, he dreaded falling defenceless into the power of the emperor. For the moment the affairs of the league were prosperous; its army of 35,000 men was the stronger, the imperial forces in Milan were in sore distress. Frundsberg might easily be driven back to Tyrol; from Genoa Navarro

[1] The author of the article "Georg Frundsberg," *Oesterr. Revue*, ii., 1864, holds the village of Aha mentioned by Reissner to be the present Hano.

and Doria might easily close the passage against Lannoy's vessels, for never before had a stronger fleet been collected. The campaign against Naples might finally be undertaken from Rome, and in Naples the intention was cherished of putting forward a new pretender of the Angevin house, René Count of Vaudemont, a brother of the Duke of Lorraine.

But what chiefly troubled Clement was the insult that he had suffered at the hands of the Colonna. He must do something to restore his prestige. On November 7 he issued a monitorium against Pompeo;[1] then as Pompeo at Naples appealed to a council in Germany, and even caused a citation thereto to be posted up in Rome, the Pope pronounced the ban against him and all the members and adherents of his house. He raised troops; he commanded each of the cardinals at his own cost to equip 100 men.[2] Several of the Orsini, the Count of Anguillara, Francesco of Gravina, Giampolo, and Ranuccio Farnese obeyed the Pope with alacrity, for the question was that of crushing their hereditary enemy.

The general of the papal army was Vitello Vitelli, and Cardinal Trivulzio was to accompany the expedition as legate. As early as the beginning of

[1] I have seen the Monitorium in the type of the period in the Chigi Library; likewise that issued against the Colonna on November 10. Documents of this kind were printed in a small format and circulated as pamphlets.

[2] Caselli to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, December 8, 1526. Este Archives in Modena.

Clement makes war on the Colonna.

November Clement ordered an attack on the property of the Colonna, untroubled by any consideration for the fate of his relation Strozzi, who was in the fortress at Naples as hostage for his fidelity. Marino, Zagarolo, Gallicano, Montefortino, Genazzano and Subiaco, some fourteen places were for the most part reduced to ruins. Only in Palliano and Rocca di Papa were the Colonna able to hold their position.[1] Clement thus broke the treaty of September, while he repaid the faithless barons in their own coin. He formed new hopes, when he heard that the French fleet, sailing from Marseilles with Vaudemont and Renzo da Ceri, had reached Savona; Genoa, however, where Doria had renewed the blockade, was nearing its fall. He reckoned on the defeat of the Viceroy, who had sailed from Spain, but he was soon to learn that, although with heavy losses, Lannoy had succeeded in reaching Corsican waters. When the Pope heard that he had arrived in the harbour of San Stefano, whence he menaced at the same time Tuscany and Rome;

Lannoy with the fleet reaches the coast of Tuscany.

[1] Francesco Gonzaga to the Marchese Gonzaga, November 6, 1526. *Archiv. Stor.*, App. ii. 294. Further, reports by Capino da Capo in the service of the Pope. On November 2 Capino made an expedition from Rome against Cave, and caused the fortress there to be demolished. The Pope assured the Imperialists that he would not touch Naples, but Capino writes to Calandra, Gonzaga's secretary (Rome, November 2, 1526), that this assurance was only a mask. According to Jovius (*Vita Pomp.*) the castle in Genazzano was spared, *ut elegantiorib. Vespasiani aedibus, quas Prosper extruerat, dissimulanter parceretur*: out of consideration for the danger to Strozzi's life in Naples. His wife Clarice strove to win over Vespasiano. *Vita di Filippo Strozzi scritta da Lorenzo suo fratello*, apud Graevium, viii. ii. 20.

when he was informed that Frundsberg had crossed the Alps, he fell a prey to the utmost terror. From San Stefano, however, the Viceroy sent the knight Pignalosa with assurances of the emperor's good intentions towards Rome; he then put to sea and reached Gaeta on December 1. He was here met by Pompeo and Ascanio Colonna, who, thirsting for revenge for the destruction of their towns, implored him to march without delay to Rome. He gave them troops and they speedily occupied Ceprano.

Lannoy lands at Gaeta.

The landing of the viceroy produced the utmost consternation in the Vatican. "We are on the brink of ruin," wrote Giberti to Gambara, the Nuncio in England; "fate has poured all its evils upon us and has nothing more to add to our misery. It seems to me as if we had already received sentence of death and were only awaiting its execution."[1] The Curia cried for peace; Schomberg, an adherent of the emperor, urged the Pope to conclude a treaty. He sent to the Viceroy the General of the Franciscans Quiñonez, who had returned from Spain bringing him the emperor's proposals; but Lannoy required a separate peace under conditions that would have ruined the Pope.[2] In order to give emphasis to his demands, the viceroy crossed the Liris. Rome rose in commotion; people began to hide their property in places of safety. To

He enters the State of the Church.

[1] Rome, December 7, 1526. *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 20.

[2] *Lettere di Princ.*, i. 182, and Lannoy's Instructions to the Secretary Giovanni Durante, when he sent him from Siena to the Emperor on May 17, 1527. Text in Lanz, *Corresp.*, i. 693.

Clement himself it seemed as if he had no alternative but flight or surrender into the power of the emperor. On December 20 Lannoy stood before Frosinone, a strongly situated fortress, which was defended by the *Bande Neri* in the pay of the Pope, while Renzo da Ceri and Trivulzio encamped with their main forces near Ferentino.

Ruin approached nearer and nearer from the South, and slowly from the North also. The audacious march of Frundsberg's landsknechts, without horses or artillery, without supplies or money, first over the mountains of the Italian Tyrol, then through Lombardy and on into the centre of Italy, amid the rains of winter and hardships indescribable, presents a spectacle so strange as to carry us back to the dark times of the bands of wandering mercenaries, if not to those of the race-migrations.[1] When the Italians allowed this errant people to traverse their country, they were indeed ripe for servitude. Frundsberg, unable to reach Milanese territory from Gavardo, turned into the Mantuan district to gain the Po, and from this side to effect a junction with Bourbon. After having cut his way by Lunato, Solferino and Goito, he entered the Seraglio, the strongly fortified territory of Mantua. He was enticed hither by the treacherous Marchese Gonzaga, under pretext of assisting him across the Po, since the Pope had formed a treaty with the emperor. That the landsknechts enclosed within this district escaped

Frundsberg enters the territory of Mantua.

[1] Machiavelli compares them with the companies of mercenaries, *Spediz. II. a. Franc. Guicciardini*, Opp. x., Furlo, April 13, 1527.

destruction is the strangest feature in the whole expedition, and it is scarcely intelligible how Urbino's army did not succeed in overthrowing them in the marshes of Mantua or the passage of the Po. In reading the naïve account of their dangers by Reissner, we seem to see before us the march of the Ten Thousand under Xenophon. Francesco Maria and Giovanni Medici had come to the frontier with 1600 cavalry and 9000 foot to drive the audacious enemy from the small dyke that divides Borgo-forte and Governolo: "the landsknechts, however, stood with their muskets like a wall; whenever the enemy appeared they showed their faces, and made them turn and drove them behind." On November 24, eight times between morning and evening did they repel the attacks of the enemy; at length they reached Governolo on the Mincio, where they rested a day. Here messages and aid arrived from Ferrara.

Clement's greatest error was that of having failed to make Duke Alfonso join the league, as Venice and France had urgently desired. The Pope had long carried on negotiations with him through Guicciardini, but to the Duke's demand for the restitution of Modena he had yielded too late and under conditions too difficult. Alfonso, who at heart always leaned to France, feared for his territories and gave ear to the proposals of the emperor. By a diploma of October 5, 1526, which the viceroy brought with him from Spain, Charles V. ratified him in possession of Modena, Reggio and all his other states, appointed him his captain-

Alfonso of Ferrara joins the side of the Emperor.

general, and allotted him in return the revenues of the county of Carpi. The covetous attacks of Julius II. and Leo X. on Ferrara were thus avenged. For had Alfonso joined the league, the followers of Frundsberg would infallibly have perished on the Po. True, that the Duke had not yet declared himself, had not yet received investiture; but he already showed that he was in favour of the emperor. He sent some boats laden with provisions and money, also twelve pieces of artillery, to Frundsberg at Governolo.

The second shot from one of these guns went straight to the Pope's heart; for on November 25 Giovanni Medici fell mortally wounded in an attack which he was making on the landsknechts at the bridge of the Mincio. This savage soldier, the last hope of Italy and also of the Pope, who had intended summoning him to Rome, died on November 30 at Mantua, whither he had been conveyed; a characteristic figure of the decadence of Italy, a compound of hero and satyr.[1]

Death of Giovanni Medici, Nov. 25, 1526.

A single shot had set Frundsberg at liberty, and while the Duke of Urbino lay quietly in Mantua and all the enterprises of the allies came to nought, he advanced unhindered. On November 28 he crossed the Po near Ostiglia by boats to Revere, and again supplied by Alfonso with money and

[1] He died in the arms of Pietro Aretino. See the letter dated Mantua, December 10, 1526, to Franc. degli Albizzi, *Lett. di Giov. de' Medici: Arch. Stor. nuova*, Serie ix., Disp. ii., 1859.—Married in 1517 to Maria, daughter of Jacopo Salviati and Lucrezia Medici, he left a son Cosimo, afterwards first Duke of Florence, who was born on June 12, 1519.

artillery, proceeded against Guastalla. Here he threatened Parma and Piacenza, whither Guicciardini and Guido Rangone had retired with the papal troops. Urbino, urgently summoned thither, preferred to remain on the other side of the Po, in order to cover the Venetian states. "The good fortune of the emperor," said Guicciardini at the time, "is unbounded, but it reaches its zenith in the circumstance that his enemies have neither the intelligence nor the desire to use their forces."

The Prince of Orange joins Frundsberg.

On December 1 Frundsberg was joined by Philibert, Count of Chalons and Prince of Orange, whom the Peace of Madrid had released from his French prison at Bourges; for the young prince, the last of his house, had quitted the service of the King of France for that of Charles V. Coming from Spain by sea, he had been made prisoner by Andrea Doria near Villafranca in July 1524. He now arrived with a few hundred mercenaries, whom he had skilfully conveyed across the Lago di Garda, and Niccolò Gonzaga also appeared with 500 Italian musketeers. Amid torrents of rain the army crossed the Taro, and on December 14 successfully reached Firenzuola between Parma and Piacenza. From here Frundsberg informed Bourbon in Milan "that in face of great dangers, he had crossed high mountains and deep waters, had spent two months in the country, enduring poverty, hunger and frost; that owing to the great patience of his soldiers and with the help of God, he had divided and driven back the enemy; he lay there

Frundsberg encamps at Firenzuola.

in the enemy's country, attacked every day, and desired further instructions."

Bourbon first sent Robert of Cajazzo with 600 horse to Firenzuola, where Frundsberg encamped for sixteen days, at constant war with the papal troops, and in no small danger between the two strong towns. Saluzzo too had at length crossed the Po, to defend the papal territory. If Bourbon failed to appear, the landsknechts would be caught in a net, as at Mantua. Bourbon's departure was prevented by the mutinous Spaniards, who refused to march until they had received their pay. The distress in Milan was indescribable; the city was reduced to the last extremity. On the Constable's arrival thither from Spain he had sworn to the despairing citizens, that, on the receipt of 30,000 ducats, he would remove the troops from the city. "If I break my oath," he swore, "may the first shot in the field kill me." The money was given; the oath was broken. In order to raise funds, Milan was squeezed to the last drop of blood. In this extremity Morone, condemned to death, purchased remission of his sentence for 20,000 ducats. Pescara's tempter henceforth became Bourbon's companion and private secretary.[1]

Bourbon in Milan.

The Constable left the command in Milan to Leyva and Gaspar Frundsberg, departed with his troops on January 30, 1527, and joined Frundsberg near Pontenuro on February 7. Spaniards, Italians

He joins Frundsberg on, Feb. 7, 1527.

[1] *Privilegium, gratia et restitutio clar^mi Com. H. Maroni*, executed by Bourbon, Milan, January 1, 1527. (Dandolo, *Ricordi*, p. 209.) Bourbon appointed him Commissary-general for Southern Italy.

and Germans together formed an army of more than 30,000 men, on foot and horseback, but with few pieces of artillery.[1] In the circumstances of the age the army was extraordinarily large, and the strongest that the emperor ever put into the field. Beside the German leaders there were also the Spaniards Juan d'Urbina, Vergara, Catinaro, the Count of Giara, and the Italians Fabrizio Maramaldo, the Count of Cajazzo, Federigo Caraffa, two Gonzaga and the Marchese del Vasto. It was a formidable host of veteran soldiers, whom a hundred battles had made hard as steel, and whom no hardship could bend: Catholics and Lutherans all fired with the same fierce hatred of the Papacy and impelled by the same thirst for spoil. Want compelled them to remain twenty days at Piacenza. A council of war was then held in the open field, and it was decided to proceed to the Romagna. Florence or Rome was to be the goal of the expedition. With banners erect the army set forward on February 22 and advanced against Parma.

Advance of the imperial army, Feb. 22, 1527.

Meanwhile as usual in Rome the war and the negotiations with the Viceroy were carried on at

[1] Schertlin gives their strength as follows, "in January 1527 we left Posto Novo (Ponte Nuro) near Placentia, what with soldiers, cuirassiers, Spaniards and light horses 16,000 strong, with our leader the Duke of Bourbon, to march to Rome and through the Pope's country, round Bologna and elsewhere, destroying and burning everything." "Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Ritters Seb. Schertlin von Burtenbach." Frankfort, 1777, p. 19.—Giuseppe de Leva, ii. 397, gives as the strength of the entire army 16,000 German soldiers, 5000 Spaniards, 2000 Italians, 500 Hommes d'Armes and about 1000 light cavalry.

the same time. France and Venice urged the Pope onwards, and for the moment his affairs in the Campagna seemed promising. His army had been reinforced; Renzo had arrived in December to conduct the expedition against Naples and Vaudemont was expected. On January 1, 1527, the Pope released Orazio Baglione from his three years' imprisonment in S. Angelo and took him into his pay.[1] Nevertheless, dismayed by the death of Giovanni Medici, Clement shrank from continuing the war. The Florentines trembled at the approach of the landsknechts; they besought the Pope to make terms with the Viceroy, and would willingly have paid the sum of 150,000 ducats which he demanded. Clarice Medici with tears and lamentations daily implored the release of her husband from his prison in Naples, and the Pope, assailed on all sides, resembled a vessel tossed on a raging sea.[2] Some advised him to summon a council without delay; others, his coffers being empty, to create cardinals in return for money. He refused the latter suggestion from honourable and conscientious scruples. He told the Venetian ambassador that "rather would he sell the property of S. Peter." He exhorted Venier to apply to the Republic for a sum of money, with which Frundsberg might be bribed; but the ambassador replied, that a general who had mortgaged his own

Difficult position of the Pope.

[1] *Memorie Perugine di Teseo Alfani*, *Arch. Stor.*, xvi. 2, p. 309. Orazio had been imprisoned with Gentile on January 27, 1524; the Pope, however, had soon restored the latter to liberty.

[2] Franc. Gonzaga to his master, Rome, January 10, 1527.

estates in the emperor's cause was not to be bought.[1]

The Romans meanwhile were stirred to activity by the danger that menaced them; they recalled the fact that in the days of their republic they possessed a civic militia. The captains of the regions held musters, and it was found that each quarter could provide 1000 men. The levy was begun, and it was calculated that a civic militia of from 12 to 14,000, among them many nobles, might be raised.[2]

The civic militia raised in Rome.

On January 20 Cesare Ferramosca arrived at Gaeta. Ferramosca was sent by the emperor to the Pope to lay before him the conditions of a truce in which France and Venice were included.[3] For Charles sincerely desired peace. Accompanied by Quiñonez and Schomberg, who had been holding negotiations with Lannoy, the imperial plenipotentiary came to Rome on January 25, while the viceroy and Moncada allowed the army to advance to Frosinone to create an impression on the Pope. Clement was so terrified that he was at once ready to accept Lannoy's hard conditions; *i.e.*, the payment of 200,000 ducats to satisfy the landsknechts,

Ferramosca holds negotiations in Rome.

[1] Dom. Venier to the Ten, Rome, December 27, 1526. Venice Archives.

[2] Despatches of Franc. Gonzaga, Rome, January 21, 29, 1527. *Assai bella gente*, he says of the militia. Juan Perez (Despatch of January 26) calls them "*gente de bien y luzida*," and adds: *mas yo creo que si la gente cesarea viene con furia y victoria, que no hallará aqui mucha resistencia* (in Villa, *Memorias*, p. 59).

[3] On November 23, 1526, Charles informs the Archduke Ferdinand of Ferramosca's mission: Lanz, *Correspond.*, n. 97; n. 99, Account of the embassy to the Emperor, from Ferrara, April 4, 1527.

the surrender of Ostia and Civita Vecchia, of Pisa and Leghorn, of Parma and Piacenza, the restoration of the Colonna and others. The cardinals opposed the terms, but on January 28 the Pope concluded a treaty, according to which weapons were to rest in Latium until an answer arrived from Venice. Ferramosca hastened with these articles to Frosinone; but a day before his departure Giberti sent secret orders to Trivulzio, empowering the general by a stroke of arms to bring the Pope to a better frame of mind.[1] On January 31 Ferramosca handed over the articles to the cardinal-legates, whom to his surprise he met on the march to Frosinone. Trivulzio pocketed the letter and courageously attacked the imperialists. They suffered a defeat at the hands of the *Bande Neri*. Frosinone was relieved and the viceroy was obliged to retire on Ceprano, when Cardinal Pompeo saved the artillery. Once again a soldier, the Cardinal applied himself to remove the cannon. Here at Ceprano, Lannoy met the English envoy Sir John Russell, who strove to negotiate a truce.[2]

Lannoy defeated at Frosinone.

[1] Evidences of this are the letters of Giberti to Trivulzio of January 28, 1527: *Correspondenze segrete di Giamm. Giberto col Card. Trivulzio dell' A.* 1527, edited by Gualterio, Turin, 1845, n. 17 *sq. Il sig. Cesare col vescovo Aprutino partiranno di qui domani. Se avanti che loro giungano, il disordine che s'intende essere nel campo dei nemici vi presentasse occasione di far qualche bello effetto, spere che le Signorie V. non la perderanno—Non la esorto a cosa con temerità, ma non li lego le mani per pratica niuna.*

[2] Lannoy's Instructions to Durant. On February 3, 1527, the imperialists withdrew from Frosinone, as Trivulzio thence writes on this date to Giberti: *e poi che Dio ci mostra la vittoria habbiamlo deliberato usarla se ci mandassi V. S. mille brevi et lettere in contrario*

The victory at Frosinone threw Giberti and the Pope into transports of joy. "I do not know," wrote the former to Trivulzio, "whether his Holiness has ever experienced so much pleasure in your obedience, as in the disobedience with which you replied to the brief, which would have suspended the course of victory."[1] The retreat of the viceroy, the arrival of French and English supplies of money and the exhortations of the ambassadors misled the dazzled priests, without breaking off negotiations, into trying to extract the greatest amount of profit from the trivial success. Just at this time the Pope escaped a great danger. One of his favourites was the young and restless Napoleon of Farfa (son of John Jordan Orsini by his first wife, a natural daughter of King Ferrante), who carried on incessant lawsuits with his step-mother Madonna Felice on account of the family property. He was taken into the imperial pay and promised the daughter of Vespasiano in marriage. In return he undertook to open his fortresses, especially Vicovaro, to the imperialists, and by this route Ascanio Colonna and Lannoy were to march with their troops to the gates of Rome. At the same time he was himself to appear with a force in the

Conspiracy of the Abbot of Farfa against the Pope.

non volemo in mo' alcuno N. S. paghi li 200^m^ *ne inclini la M^tà^ Apost. a si vile giogo quanto li era proposto e non pigli ma dia la legge come é dover.* Florence Archives, *Carte Strozz.*, filza 363, fol. 83. Capino gives a minute description of the occurrences to the Marchese of Mantua, Frosinone, February 9, 1527: Gonzaga Archives, which contain reports received from him written from Rome and the Campagna from January until April.

[1] *Correspondenze segrete, ut supra*, n. 22.

Vatican as the deliverer of the Pope, in order not only to give entrance to the enemy, but to seize his Holiness. The plot was discovered by the Count of Anguillara; the Abbot of Farfa was taken a prisoner at Bracciano and brought to S. Angelo.[1]

Enterprise against Naples.

On February 1 the young Vaudemont, an utterly impecunious adventurer, also arrived in Rome. It was decided to attack Naples. Renzo marched to the Abruzzi, where he occupied Aquila and all the country as far as Sora, while Trivulzio pushed on to S. Germano and Vaudemont tempted fortune with Doria's vessels. Molo di Gaeta, Torre del Greco and Sorrento surrendered. The city of Naples itself feared that the enemy would land there.

The Pope could have hoped nothing more from this undertaking than to obtain more favourable conditions from the Viceroy,[2] and the successes gained were soon to meet with an unexpected end. Scarcely ever has a war been waged with such slender resources as was on both sides the Italian war of 1527. The impossibility of raising sums of money, which, compared to the immense war taxes now paid by conquered cities and nations, seem insignificant to absurdity, then produced disasters of serious importance in history. In March the unpaid papal forces refused further

[1] Franc. Gonzaga, Despatches of February 5, 6, 10: *Quando non se fosse scoperto il trattato—era la rovina del mondo.* The project had been to murder the Pope and eight cardinals.

[2] This is shown by the correspondence between Giberti and Trivulzio.

service, and began to disband; Renzo was consequently obliged to retire to Piperno. Clement now found himself in the greatest perplexity; he was terrified by the advance of Bourbon, who threatened Florence; and he despaired of rescue at the hands of Venice or France. Guillaume du Bellay, the ambassador of Francis I., who was eagerly expected with a sum of 20,000 ducats, did not arrive until March 11, and brought with him the request that the war with Naples should be continued, as it was proposed that a son of the King of France should receive the Neapolitan crown and marry Catherine Medici.[1] On the same day, however, arrived also Ferramosca and Seron, envoys of the Viceroy, who had retired to Gaeta and who sincerely wished to make terms.

The land forces of the Pope are disbanded.

For five days Clement remained irresolute, until on March 15 he decided for the Viceroy.[2] The same day Renzo hurried to Rome to prevent the treaty, but it was too late.[3] Lannoy reduced his conditions, not only on account of the attack on Naples, but also because Bourbon had written that his position was desperate. On setting forth on February 22 the Constable had turned against Modena, keeping the enemy rather behind than before him. Instead of attacking him, the allied army had divided; Urbino was not even with it,

Negotiations between the Pope and Lannoy, March, 1527.

[1] He refused to give the 20,000 ducats to the Pope because the bank of Spina had failed: Venetian letters in M. Sanuto, vol. xliv.

[2] *Lett. di Princ.*, ii. 60, 62. Lannoy ratified the truce in the camp of Ceprano on March 16. Copy in M. Sanuto, vol. xliv. fol. 267.

[3] Despatch of Franc. Gonzaga of March 16.

having, under pretext of illness, remained in Gazzuolo. As general of the Venetians he held that his only duty was to protect the republic; but he coveted besides the restoration of S. Leo and Montefeltre, and it was evident that a man, towards whom the Medici had acted so badly, could feel no great enthusiasm for the safety of the State of the Church. Even Venice distrusted the Pope; it was said that he was carrying on negotiations with the Constable, who had promised to spare Florence, if he were himself recognised as Duke of Milan.[1]

Bourbon's army lived solely on plunder; but the unfortunate farmer everywhere kept his property concealed. Only at Reggio did the troops find some supplies. Bourbon was here joined by the young Ferrante Gonzaga, who a year before had returned from the Spanish court, a brave general of cavalry and afterwards a celebrated commander of Charles V.[2] The Constable hurried from Bonporto to Finale, where he met Alfonso. The Duke declined to join him or to pay a subsidy unless Modena was restored to him. Both from hatred to the Pope, and because it was important that this terrible army should be removed from the neighbourhood of his dominions, he advised Bourbon to open the

[1] The correspondence was discovered. The Pope, wrote the knight Landriano to Sforza, does not keep his promises, unless it is to his own advantage or to that of Florence. Giuseppe de Leva, ii. 402.

[2] He was born in 1507, was the son of Giov. Francesco of Mantua and Isabella of Este. See Litta on the Gonzaga. Three Gonzaga were serving at the time in the imperial army.

way to Rome. As the troops now crossed the Panaro, they entered the papal dominions. On March 7 they encamped at S. Giovanni in Bolognese territory. Bologna, which was Bourbon's first objective, had already been entered by Guicciardini and Saluzzo; and Count Cajazzo, who, won by gold and promises had forsaken the imperialists, had joined them. Bourbon sent a trumpeter to Bologna demanding provisions and passage to Naples; his demands were refused. The distress of the army under torrents of rain and in a sacked and devastated country were unspeakable.

Bourbon before Bologna.

Reports already reached the camp that a disadvantageous truce had been made in Rome, owing to which the march thither would have to be abandoned. The troops demanded payment. On the night of March 13 the Spaniards rose in indignation; they wished to kill all the commanding officers; Bourbon himself escaped with difficulty to Frundsberg's lodgings, where he hid himself in a stable. The mutineers pillaged his quarters; the Duke's coat of gold mail was found in the morning lying in the city moat. Tumult prevailed throughout the entire camp and spread to Frundsberg's landsknechts.[1] Nevertheless the enemy in Bologna did not risk a blow, they themselves being

Mutiny in Bourbon's camp, March 13, 1527.

[1] The tumultuous scenes in the camp are described by Reissner, p. 98. The date of the mutiny is confirmed by Guicciardini, Letter to the datary, Bologna, March 14, 1527: *Op inedite*, v. n. 134; further Girolamo Naselli, envoy of Alfonso of Ferrara, in a letter to his master, March 13, in *castel S. Joanni* (Balan, *Mon. saec. XVI. hist. illustr.*, p. 410).

in like case. In their great distress the leaders sent envoys to the Duke of Ferrara. When they returned empty-handed, Frundsberg on March 16 caused the drums to be beaten; the German troops were drawn up in a ring; he entered it and begged the landsknechts, his children, to have patience a month longer and their miseries would be ended. They answered with an angry shout, "Money! Money!" and pointed their halberds threateningly at their colonel. This broke the heart of the aged hero, and brought on an apoplectic seizure; he sank down on a drum, spoke no further word, and was conveyed to his lodgings on his ass. On March 22 he was taken by boat on the Po to Ferrara, where he was tended by Alfonso for a year until he was able to return to his castle of Mindelheim. Thus ended the career of the celebrated leader of the landsknechts, the greatest German general before Wallenstein. He fell a victim not to the sword of the enemy, but to grief at the rebellion of his own troops.[1]

Frundsberg's last days.

Meanwhile despite the representations of Renzo, Russell and the Venetian ambassador, the Pope concluded an eight months' armistice with Lannoy. It was stipulated that all the conquered territory

[1] Reissner has described the episode with exquisite simplicity. He compares his hero to Romulus and Caesar; he calls the apoplectic seizure the illness of Hercules. The physicians of Ferrara ordered Frundsberg a bath of oil in which a fox had been boiled. He returned to Mindelheim on August 12, 1528, and died there on August 20. "Until late in the seventeenth century Frundsberg's age was to German mercenaries the golden era of military discipline." *Oesterr. Revue*, ii., 1864, p. 147.

was to be surrendered, the Pope was to pardon the Colonna, to recall his ships and troops from Neapolitan territory; Naples was to remain to the emperor, Milan to the Sforza. The Pope was to pay Bourbon's army only 60,000 ducats, on which it was to leave Italy if Venice and France acceded to the treaty; the army in any case was to leave the papal states. The viceroy was invited to come to Rome to ratify the treaty.[1] But in Rome the war party were furious; they complained that the Pope had disgracefully surrendered himself into the hands of the imperialists and the Colonna, by whom he was invariably betrayed; he abandoned the allies only in order to save Florence and the State of the Church; never would the emperor withdraw his troops from Italy, and if Bourbon halted on his march, it was only to turn against Venice. Taken altogether, they regarded the treaty as nothing but a treacherous snare. On the other side, the articles appeared too favourable to the Pope, too unfavourable to the emperor. Pompeo Colonna in particular was furious.

Treaty between the Pope and the Viceroy.

Great was the surprise when shortly before the entrance of the viceroy the Pope released the Abbot of Farfa from S. Angelo. The conspirator pledged himself to retire into exile at Pisa, Florence or Venice; to give as security a deposit of 100,000 ducats, and to arrange matters with Madonna Felice by a division of the property.[2]

[1] Contract of March 16, 1527, printed in Bucholtz, iii. 604.

[2] Despatch of Franc. Gonzaga of March 23. Renzo and Giberti interceded in favour of the prisoner.

A gloomy feeling, as if of some terrible disaster, pervaded Rome. A singular madman, a Siennese called Brandano, ran about the streets, like the lunatic who foretold the fall of Jerusalem. He preached to the people that the wrath of God would visit Rome, and punish the sins of the priests. On March 25 the viceroy arrived, accompanied by the Duke of Amalfi and the Prince of Grossa Villa. He was received by the foreign ambassadors, the datary and Jacopo Salviati. The day was dark; the rain poured in torrents. A storm burst over the Vatican. People remembered that a similar tempest had occurred when the same viceroy arrived in Rome in Adrian's days.[1]

Lannoy comes to Rome.

Lannoy's presence inspired Clement with confidence; he believed the viceroy's influence to be greater than it actually was. Lannoy also intended loyally to execute the articles of the treaty. In order to conclude the peace, Clement decided to send the datary Giberti to England and France, and to bring Guicciardini as his representative to Rome.[2] He recalled his vessels from the coast of Naples, and, misled by Armellino's advice, dismissed his troops, with the exception of 100 horse, 2000 Swiss, and 2000 of the *Bande Neri*, in order to save 30,000 scudi a month. The only question that remained

Clement dismisses his troops.

[1] *Caesar Grolierus Lugdun., Historia expugnatae et direptae Urbis Romae per exercit. Caroli V. Imp. di VI. Maji MDXXVII.* (Paris, 1637, p. 37.) *Lett. di Princ.*, ii. 68.—Franc. Gonzaga writes of the entry of the Viceroy in his despatch of March 25.

[2] *Il Guicciardini verra a Roma partendosi il Dattario, et lui farra le faccende, come sustituto di esso Dattario, et medesiamente stara nelle sue stantie.* Despatch of the same, Rome, April 1, 1527.

was to force Bourbon to accept the treaty. Immediately after March 15 Ferramosca arrived for the purpose, and with letters from the viceroy and plenary powers from the emperor was despatched to the Constable's camp.

The anger of the Spaniards there had been appeased by 6000 ducats which the Commissary-general Morone had raised in Ferrara; but their feeling was still so excited that Ferramosca could not have appeared at a less opportune moment. Midway on the march to Florence or Rome, where it was hoped to receive reparation for all hardships, the envoy wished to oblige the imperial army to turn back, offering the articles of treaty and a beggarly sum of 60,000 ducats. When he announced his mission, the generals ordered the captains to question their men. The Spaniards ironically explained that they were almost all heavily laden with sins, and must consequently seek absolution in Rome. All demanded their arrears of pay in case of retreat, and loudest of all the Spaniards protested against retreat. In vain del Vasto strove to change their determination. Spaniards and Germans all vowed they would never renounce the expedition. Del Vasto therefore left them on March 28 to obey the orders of the emperor.[1] Ferramosca escaped the fury of the troops by flight to Ferrara, where he

Ferramosca carries on fruitless negotiations with the imperial army.

[1] Despatches of Sigismondo della Torre, agent of Mantua with Bourbon's army, March 28, 1527, *dal felicissimo campo Imperiale presso S. Giovanni*. Gonzaga Archives. Despatch of the Abate de Nagera to the Emperor from S. Giovanni, March 28 (in Villa, p. 74).

sent the emperor an account of the results of his mission.[1]

Bourbon, himself powerless to control the temper of the army, wrote to the viceroy on March 29, that necessity compelled him to advance,[2] and notified the same intelligence by messenger to the Pope. His resolve made the fulfilment of the treaty impossible; but the treaty itself gave Urbino a pretext for re-crossing the Po to Casalmaggiore; he could there protect the Venetian states, which the enemy might invade if persuaded to retreat. In fact the only concern of the Venetians was to avert the storms of war from their frontiers. They trusted the Pope as little as the King of France trusted him.[3] Nothing but confusion reigned in the allied army. Guicciardini, who was in Bologna, foresaw the disaster. "Three things," he wrote to Giberti on March 29, "remain to you: to yield everything in a fresh treaty; to fly; or to defend yourself to the death; the most honourable is to perish like a hero."[4]

Departure from Bologna of the imperial army, March 31, 1527.

On March 31 the imperialists burnt their camp at S. Giovanni and marched to the bridge of the Reno. Their intention was to gain the Apennines

[1] *Comme j'arrivai avec la paix, ils parurent furieux comme de lions*: Lanz, *Corresp.*, n. 99.

[2] To the Bishop of Pola, Bologna, March 29, 1527: Guicciardini, *Op. ined.*, v. n. 153.—On April 6 Bourbon's messenger entered Rome, *qual fa intendere non esservi modo di acquietar li lancechenechi, se non cum il pagarli di 200m. ducati, et che tutta via veneano inanti*: Despatch of Franc. Gonzaga, Rome, April 7.

[3] Again on May 4 the king told Accajuoli that he would act with greater energy, if he could trust the Pope. Desjardins, ii. 491.

[4] Guicciardini, *ut supra*, n. 152.

and to descend on Florence by Sasso, but as the roads in this direction were in bad condition, they advanced instead, burning and pillaging, along the Flaminian way. The troops were in a state of terrible demoralisation, which Bourbon was unable to check.[1] Rangone and the utterly incapable Saluzzo, however, made but a feeble pursuit, and when the Duke of Urbino had been persuaded to return to the Romagna, he held it the best tactics invariably to march at a distance of twenty-five miles behind the enemy. The allies followed him "as servants their master"; they defended only some of the greater cities. Codognola and Meldola, however, were taken by assault and sacked. The army advanced with great difficulty, horses and carriages sticking in the muddy roads. To ease the march the artillery had been sent to Ferrara. Bourbon, advancing through the valley of the Ronco from Civitella and Galeata, ascended the Apennines, which here divide the basin of the Arno and the Tiber from that of the rivers that flow to the Adriatic. He thence intended to proceed to Florence, after he had received the envoys from Siena, who promised him supplies of money, provisions and ammunition.

When the advance of the imperial army became known in Rome, the Pope implored the viceroy to repair in person to Bourbon. He also sent a German, John Blankenfeld, Archbishop of Riga,

[1] An anonymous writer to an anonymous correspondent. *Dal Campo Cesareo da Solarola*, April 8, 1527. (M. Sanuto, vol. xliv. f. 319.)

to act as mediator, but Blankenfeld was afraid to venture beyond Florence.[1] Lannoy, already on bad terms with Bourbon on account of the removal of King Francis to Spain, left Rome on the 3rd and reached Florence on the 6th of April. Here he received La Motte, Bourbon's envoy, and with him came to the following terms: that the army should receive 150,000 ducats in instalments, and should undertake to depart within five days of the first payment. La Motte agreed to these terms in the name of the Constable. It was now the turn of the Florentine signory to fear the approach of the imperialist army, and consequently months before they had sent Machiavelli to Guicciardini and the Duke of Urbino entreating them to defend Tuscany. The Signory consequently undertook to pay the first instalment, and to raise money caused the plate of the churches and the Palazzo Communale to be melted down. Scarcely had the viceroy announced the terms of the contract to Rome, when the Pope, believing that all danger was over, in his parsimony dismissed the *Bande Neri* and left himself utterly defenceless. Renzo warned him in vain; in vain the Marquis of Mantua also sent warning. On April 11 Francesco Gonzaga wrote to his master from Rome: "The Pope, it must be said, has surrendered himself to the discretion of the imperialists. The whole world is

The Pope dismisses the Bande Neri.

[1] See "Ein deutscher Bericht über die Eroberung Roms . . . von dem Augenzeugen Ambrosius von Gumppenberg," which I found in the Munich State Library and published in the *Sitzungsber. der baier Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1877.

astonished at his conduct; it has undoubtedly been so ordained by the will of God in order to ruin the Church and its ruler."[1] The Marquis in just dread begged his mother Isabella to return to Mantua; she replied that she would leave Rome when the landsknechts really entered. "This court," wrote Negri from Rome, "has become a poultry yard. We put our hopes in the fidelity of the viceroy; if in malice or impotence he leaves us in the lurch, then are we undone."[2] Vaudemont also, who had come to Rome, at the Pope's desire took ship for Marseilles, peace having been made with the emperor.

Meanwhile Lannoy set forth on April 13 to meet Bourbon, who, in spite of the treaty, continued his advance, and informed the viceroy that he awaited him at S. Pietro in Bagno at the foot of the Apennines on April 18. Lannoy was accompanied by the Florentine commissaries with 80,000 ducats, who purposely led him by devious paths to meet Guicciardini, so that the allies might have time to arrive to defend Florence. The indignant peasantry, however, threatened all the leaders with death; the Florentines, without arriving at Bourbon's

[1] *Il prudente racordo dato per il s^or al Papa di non disarmarse anchorche fosse segnita qsta tregua, si come mi havette scritto in ziphara per una de le vre d. XXVIII era tanto necessario quanto laudabile, ma——Non sia fori di dubio che cosi non sia determinata et absoluta volonta de Dio per ruinare questa chyesa e chi la governa.*

[2] Negri to Michieli, Rome, April 15, 1527, *Lett. di Princ.*, ii. 72.—Machiav. to F. Vettori, Furli, April 16, 1527: *non credo che mai si travagliassino i più difficili articoli che questi, dove la pace è necessaria, e la guerra non si può abbandonare*, Op. xi. 276.

camp, hastened to carry their money to a place of safety, while Lannoy owed his escape to the fleetness of his horse, and only reached the Constable at Pieve di S. Stefano on April 20.[1] Bourbon received him with every honour, and kept him three days, but increased his demand to 240,000 ducats. He sent letters of a friendly tenor to the Pope, but explained that for strategic reasons he must advance further with the army. That this did not accord with the wishes of the viceroy can scarcely be doubted; that the Constable was forced by necessity to prolong his march, and that he intended to disarm the Pope, cannot be doubted either.[2] On April 19, from S. Pietro in Bagno he wrote a letter to Leyva in Milan, which was intercepted and deciphered. Therein he said: "I have arrived at S. Pietro in Bagno with this fortunate army, and will not delay my advance a single hour in the hope that the opportunity may prove favourable; for in consequence of the treaty with our good viceroy the enemy are unprepared, and can scarcely find time to take precautions.

Meeting of Lannoy and Bourbon.

Advance of Bourbon and his army.

[1] Lannoy was accompanied by the Bishop of Vaison. I found the Bishop's account of the journey in the Gonzaga Archives: *Copia di una di Mons. di Vasone dat. da campo Salvado presso alla Spessa alli* 19. *Ap.* 1527. The prelate, wounded by the peasants, believed that Bourbon was the instigator of the attempt. Concerning this meeting, see the Instructions to Durand, already quoted.

[2] L. Guicciardini (*Sacco di Roma*, p. 123) and Vettori (*Sacco di Roma*) do not believe in Lannoy's treachery. Busini, *Lett. al Varchi* (p. 99), says: *Quanto a Borbone, ci si gettò alla volta di Roma per marcia necessità, mancando d'ogni bene, con animo, se non gli riusciva pigliar Roma, gettarsi alla volta del Regno, e di quivi rinfrescato, far la guerra al papa.* This is true.

The distress of the army is indescribable, but it is willingly borne, since the soldiers think it a thousand years until this accursed sack of Florence. We shall therefore march straight towards it."[1] The emperor himself desires Bourbon's advance, in order that his troops may be paid in Florence or Rome, and that he may extort more favourable terms.[2] If he ratified Lannoy's treaty, he did so only on condition that Bourbon could not extort something better. Charles, too, regulated his conduct according to circumstances; as in December the Pope, in spite of the treaty, had commanded his legate at Frosinone to try the fortune of arms, so did the emperor adopt a like course with his generals. He would not hear of his troops leaving Italy; even if France and Venice agreed to the treaty, Bourbon was to keep his forces in Venetian territory or on the frontier. Above all, nothing was to be done until money had been paid.[3]

After a three days' sojourn in the camp of the imperialists, the perplexed Lannoy had gone to Siena, which he entered with fifty horse on April 25, and where he awaited the Pope's answer to his own report and to Bourbon's letter. Clement, to whom the French envoy Martin du Bellay brought from Florence the news of Bourbon's

[1] *Dezifrato de lre di Bourbone ad Ant. de Leva da S. Petro in Bagno alli* 19. *de Aprile* 1527. Gonzaga Archives.

[2] Bucholtz, iii. 58, 59, 66. Charles to Lannoy, February 5, 1527. To Bourbon, March 31.—Lanz, *ut supra*, p. 704.

[3] Charles's letters of May 12, 1527, to Bourbon and Lannoy. Bucholtz, iii. 67, 68.

advance, was utterly astounded and indignant: he refused to consent to the increased demand. The fate of the Papacy and Rome probably depended on the payment of 250,000 ducats, but how was this sum to be raised?[1] The Pope, recognising that the imperial general merely wished to betray him, passed from weakness to impotent defiance. He answered the viceroy, that with the help of the Romans he was resolved to defend himself, and as early as April 25 by a new treaty with the ambassadors of France, England and Venice he returned to the league. He required large sums of money for its support, but neither France nor Venice would give them; the republic on the contrary rebuked its ambassador Domenico Venier for the overhasty promises he had made to the Pope.[2] The same day (April 25) the companies of infantry were reassembled and captains appointed. The Pope himself conceived the design of sending the newly collected army under command of Renzo to meet the enemy and offer them battle at Viterbo. Although the report spread through Rome that Clement intended flight to Pisa or Avignon, he nevertheless showed himself full of

Clement VII. accepts the alliance with the powers, April 25.

[1] The gold florin or gold ducat was then equivalent to 7 Lire; the lira to 20 soldi.

[2] The document in which the Pope announces his return to the league is given in M. Sanuto, vol. xliv. f. 369. *Spes salutis statuit cum praefatis confederatis principib. ad conventionem foederis redire et praedictas indutias cum hostib. factas prout sunt pro irritis et nullis habere.* The envoys promised subsidies; beyond the 30,000 ducats stipulated by treaty, the Venetians promised another 15,000. *Ita promitto A. Carpen. D. Venerius Orator. Rosellus et Gregorius Casales.*

confidence. The Romans also roused themselves; they offered him 60,000 ducats to raise troops, and declared that they would rather die than surrender to the enemy, since in the latter case the city would inevitably be sacked.[1]

March of the imperialists across the Apennines.

An inexorable fate urged the imperial troops onwards against Rome. When they angrily demanded to continue their march, Bourbon amid unspeakable difficulties led them across the snow-covered Apennines to Arezzo, while at the same time and on the same 25th April, the Duke of Urbino, assailed by the entreaties of Guicciardini and the Florentines, reached Barberino.[2] The allied army, which ravaged the country with the same ferocity as the imperialists, endeavoured to protect Florence, on which the imperialists appeared to be moving. For the Constable artfully took up a position that threatened at the same time Rome and Florence. Owing to the miserable rule of Cardinal Silvio Passerini, who conducted the government for the boyish Ippolito, Florence, drained by the Medici, was deeply incensed against the family. On April 26 an attempt was made to overthrow Medicean rule and re-establish the republic. The attempt failed, since the allies under Urbino and Saluzzo entered the city the same day.

Revolt in Florence suppressed.

[1] Despatches of Francesco Gonzaga, Rome, April 26, 27. *Non si potria dire quanto siano caldi (i Romani) a questa impresa essendo tutti per lassarli la vita più presto—sapendo che, quando facessero altramente ogni cosa andaria a sacco et ruina.*

[2] Despatch of Benedetto Agnello, Agent of Mantua in Urbino's camp. Barberino, April 25, 1527: Gonzaga Archives.

The Florentines even allowed themselves to be persuaded to join the league against the emperor.

Bourbon, who crossed the Arno southwards at Arezzo on April 25, turned by Montevarchi towards Siena, always making it appear as if he would march against Florence, in order that the enemy might be detained there. They rendered an attack on Florence impossible, but by keeping them there he gained valuable time. Now, obliged to take the road to Rome, he laid before his captains the state of the case and his own plan, namely, to march forward and take Rome by assault. The troops were furious; they had hoped for the sack of Florence; they believed Rome to be impregnable, and that Bourbon would conclude a treaty with the Pope. With difficulty the Constable quieted the revolt.[1] When Vitelli, who with the *Bande Neri* remained in Arezzo, now learnt with certainty of the departure of the imperialists for Rome, he sent information of the fact to Florence, where a council of war, assembled at Castello on April 30, resolved that Guido Rangone with 8000 men and 500 horse should immediately set forth and gain the Roman road at Perugia, in order to forestall the enemy, while on May 1 the entire allied army should follow by the Arezzo road.[2]

Bourbon resolves to march on Rome.

The Constable, having received some supplies from Siena, sent the last pieces of field artillery there, in order to travel the more lightly. Lannoy

[1] Letter of Sigismondo de la Torre to the Marquis of Mantua, from the Vatican on May 11, 1527: M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. fol. 151.

[2] Despatch of Agnello, Castello near Florence, April 30.

was there, in continual correspondence with the Colonna. Pompeo and Moncada wrote to him at the end of April, that they had prepared for an insurrection in Rome on May 10, on which day they would appear before the city with 10,000 foot and 20,000 horse, when the Porta del Popolo would be opened to them. Cardinal Monte had been won to their side and initiated into their plans.[1] But meanwhile the Constable's march forestalled the execution of the design. In hot haste he pushed forward past Sinalunga and Torrita to Montepulciano. The army suffered torments of hunger, since no supplies were forthcoming in the district; the landsknechts tore the unripe almonds from the trees and greedily devoured them. Radicofani they left on the right; in gangs of thirty, and holding one another by the hand, they swam across the swollen Paglio at Centino. Montefiascone they reached in the darkness of night and amid torrents of rain, and sacked it. Thence the Via Cassia leads through the Patrimony to Rome. On May 2 the army reached Viterbo, which owed its exemption from pillage to the Knights of Rhodes, on whom, soon after his accession, Clement VII. had bestowed it, and for the time being assigned it, as a residence. The

[1] *Ritrato di avisi di Siena fino a mercordi a sera a di* 1. *Maggio* 1527 (M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. f. 23): *Dice ancora chel card. Monte hè soldato per loro et che di ogni cosa gli tiene riguagliati per tanti che li tenga avisati di hora in hora sul camino di lanzchinechi azio sappino dove fare la unione et più li avisa chel papa non havia fatto ancora* 2000—*et gli confortava.* Is the Cardinal Monte thus revealed as a traitor to the Pope?

Knights, the grand-master at their head, came to meet the Constable and gave food to the troops.[1] On May 4 the army arrived at Ronciglione, where they drove away a papal force under Ranuccio Farnese. Messengers came from the Colonna promising support; they would descend from the Latin Mountains with 2000 men, while their ally Mario Orsini of Monterotondo would hold Rignano.

3. Preparations for the Defence of Rome—Renzo da Ceri and other Captains—Blindness of the Romans—The Prophet Brandano—Creation of Cardinals on May 3—Bourbon before the City Walls on May 5—Attack on the Leonina, May 6, 1527—Death of Bourbon—The Leonina taken—Flight of the Pope to S. Angelo — The Trastevere taken by Storm—The City taken.

Clement now bemoaned his unfortunate blindness. Too late he sent Lorenzo Toscana to France and Sir John Russell to England, to invoke the aid of the two courts. Although a muster of the Roman populace showed several thousand fighting men from sixteen to fifty years of age, the citizens nevertheless hesitated to enrol themselves in numbers under the banner of the Pope.[2] The zeal which

[1] The knights of Rhodes had full jurisdiction in Viterbo, which they had acquired in January 1524. Bosio, ii. ii. 25. After the Sack of Rome they removed to Corneto, in order to be nearer the sea; then to Villafranca and Nice, until Charles V. gave them Malta in 1530.

[2] Vettori (*Sommario*, p. 380) reckons 30,000 fighting men in Rome; this estimate is, however, exaggerated, since the inhabitants only numbered 85,000.

they had earlier displayed seemed to vanish at the approach of danger.

Edicts of Leo X. and Clement VII. had prohibited the bearing of arms, and de Rossi, the hated governor of the city, had cruelly punished every transgression of the law.[1] In 1527 the descendants of those Romans, who had formerly driven mighty emperors from their walls, retained not a trace of either the liberty or the virtues of their valiant ancestors. This horde of servants and sycophants of prelates, of writers of bulls, of pharisees, this populace nourished in idleness—a refined but corrupt burgher class, devoid of self-reliance—the lazy nobles and the thousands of vicious priests resembled the Romans of the days when Alaric encamped before Rome.

Preparations in Rome for the defence.

Defenders were collected from among the artisans, the servants and grooms of cardinals and monsignori.[2] From the upper class Clement demanded fresh supplies of money, with which to collect troops for the defence of their native city. But in truth even with the best will money was difficult to raise; and where, as among cardinals and courtiers, it was plentiful, greed and avarice kept it concealed. The wealthy Domenico Massimi is said to have offered 100 ducats.[3] The English ambassador George Casale magnanimously pledged his own

[1] Bernino, *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, iv. 370.

[2] The so-called "families" of the Cardinals in Rome amounted in 1663 to 2465 men, and in 1675 had increased to 3351. Statistics in the Archives of the Capitol, Cred. xiv. Tom. 42.

[3] Guicciardini, xviii. 237. Belcarius, xix. 593.

valuables, and thus raised 1600 scudi. Guillaume du Bellay did the same.[1] Mercenaries belonging to the *Bande Neri*—who were still in Rome, where the majority had already sold their arms—were recalled. Several nobles, however, by engaging them to protect their own palaces, reduced the number of the defenders. These palaces they barred, walled up and provided with artillery.[2] A few thousand arquebusiers and some light cavalry under Valerio and Giampolo Orsini, the latter a son of Renzo of Ceri, formed the entire army. To Renzo the Pope entrusted the supreme command of the united forces.

Renzo, Commander-in-chief in Rome.

Renzo had long served the Venetians and had acquired celebrity in the defence of Marseilles; his prestige, however, had been diminished in his last campaign in the Abruzzi. The unfortunate Orsini, summoned to act as the Belisarius of Rome, ordered the Vatican to be hurriedly entrenched, the walls of the Leonina to be strengthened and provided with cannon. But a fatal blindness obscured the judgment of the Romans. To them their city seemed invulnerable. How was it possible that the "barbarian army," half wasted away and without artillery, could storm the strong walls of Rome? Defeated, it must disperse of itself of hunger within two days, and meanwhile the allied army would arrive.

For a moment Clement meditated flight on Doria's

[1] Casale to Wolsey, May 2. Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, i. 253.

[2] Thus for example Benvenuto Cellini with 50 youths (*ben pagati e ben trattati*) guarded the house of Alessandro del Bene: *Vita*, c. vii.

vessels now in Civita-vecchia; he was, however, dissuaded by Giberti and Salviati's representations that there was nothing to fear. Many prelates had already taken flight. During the early days of May the roads to Civita-vecchia and Umbria were thronged with fugitives. "To-day," said a letter written on May 4 from Collescipoli near Terni, "there have passed Cardinal Egidius, the Bishops of Volterra, Bologna and Pesaro, the court of Cardinal Campeggi, Signor Constantino Greco and Messer Baldassare of Pescia, all of them flying from ruin; so hopeless seems the rescue of the city."[1] Among those who fled shortly before the catastrophe was Filippo Strozzi with his wife Clarice Medici and his children. Just returned from his seven months' imprisonment as hostage in Naples, he embarked on the Tiber on May 4 and hurried by Civita-vecchia to Pisa.[2]

Flight of several Romans.

The prophet of evil cried woe to Rome; from the statue of S. Peter on Easter day the insane but true prophet of Siena had publicly foretold the fall of the city, and even in prison, where he was thrown by the Swiss guards, he was not reduced to silence. Prophecies of the ruin of Rome and the Papacy were here and there affixed to the walls.[3]

Prophecies concerning the ruin of Rome.

[1] *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 74.

[2] *Vita di Filippo Strozzi*, apud Graevium, viii., ii.

[3] *Ingeme, collachryma, luge, Saturnia tellus,*
Perniciem intendunt astra maligna tibi.
Excidium et clades, et dira incendia Troiae
His collata tuis pauca fuere malis.
Me a superis missum tibi Jonam crede superba
Moecha caput scelerum, Roma velut Ninive.

In Reissner; the lines are evidently put into the mouth of the prophet of Siena.

Signs, such as heralded the capture of Rome by Alaric, were not wanting; the fall of houses, fatalities by lightning, meteors and the like. Papal Rome was as steeped in sin as the pagan city in the last days of the empire, and it was now believed that the time had come when the ancient prophecies were to be fulfilled. The saints of the Minorite order, S. Bridget, S. Francesca Romana, and a hundred others had for centuries prophesied the destruction of the city by fire, the fall of the Church and its final reformation.[1]

Like an avalanche Bourbon's army had burst into the centre of Italy and opened a way to Rome. Neither mountains, rivers, impassable roads, neither snow, nor winter rains, neither gnawing hunger, nor the enemy who harassed them on every side, had availed to check the march of his troops. They were driven onwards, said the Lutherans, by the dispensation of God to chastise sinful Rome, over which fate now folded its sinister wings. On May 4 the army encamped at Isola Farnese on the site of ancient Veii, where in former days so many emperors had rested on their way to Rome. No messenger from the Pope or the city appeared, a fact that aroused Bourbon's surprise, for Rome was within a three hours' march. No enemy showed himself. Owing to forced marches of incredible rapidity, the imperialists were in advance of

Bourbon's army encamps at Veii.

[1] In Germany it was believed that an Emperor would execute the judgment; consequently prophecies of this kind were uttered immediately after the election of Charles V. Döllinger: *Der Weissagungsglaube und das Prophetentum in der christl. Zeit.* (*Histor. Taschenb.*, v. Folge i.)

Rangone's cavalry, and so little concerned was Urbino for the Pope's safety, that he was still lingering at the lake of Trasimene when the Constable arrived within sight of the walls of Rome.

Great was the commotion when on May 3 it was known in the city that the enemy was close to Isola. Many carried their possessions to S. Angelo; others to other places deemed secure, especially to the houses of Spaniards and Germans. On the morning of the 3rd the Pope created some cardinals for money (40,000 ducats for each hat), a now useless measure. The new dignitaries were Benedetto Accolti and Niccolò Gaddi of Florence, the Genoese Agostino Spinola, Ercole Gonzaga and Marino Grimani of Venice. The same day Renzo repaired to the Capitol, where Aldello de Placitis of Siena was senator. Nearly 3000 citizens assembled in Aracoeli, and the governor exhorted them to defend Rome and the Pope, who had entrusted them with the care of S. Angelo and his own person, for he intended to retire to the palace of S. Marco. The Romans resolved to defend them to the last extremity. They were of good courage, for already the infantry in the city numbered 4000, and it was hoped that it might soon amount to 7000.[1] In the afternoon the Pope rode through the entire city, to thank the people and show his confidence. He was greeted with loud applause.[2] In

Creation of cardinals on May 3.

Municipal assembly on the Capitol.

[1] Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga, Rome, May 3, 1527.

[2] *Venerdi passato N. S. cavalcò per tutta roma con gran plauso di populo. . . .* Letter of *Jo. Bap. Massario locotenente di Spoleti al molto magn. S. M. Capino di Capo da Mantua*, Spoleto, May 7, 1527: Gonzaga Archives.

the evening Camillo Orsini crossed the Ponte Molle to gain intelligence; but meanwhile the panic in Rome increased with every hour. In order to prevent the depopulation of the city by flight and to check the discouragement of the citizens, on the same 3rd of May it was proclaimed that no one should leave the city under penalty of loss of his property. People, such as the Florentine merchants, who wished to remove their possessions to vessels on the Tiber, were not even allowed to do so. All the gates were closed. Only to a few was exit granted. Isabella Gonzaga herself declared her willingness to remain in Rome, and by letters informed Bourbon and her son Ferrante of her intention.

Proclamation of the Pope, May 4.

On May 4 the Pope issued a summons for a crusade against the imperial army, the Lutherans and Sons of Moors, who with deadly ferocity were marching against the sacred city.[1] Renzo strengthened him in the opinion that Rome was sufficiently secure, and that the Romans would remain faithful to their promises. He said that on the evening of May 3 Rangone must have reached Viterbo, and behind him came the army of the duke, which would arrive before the walls within four, or at latest six, days. So befogged was this experienced general himself by the atmosphere of Rome, that even on May 4 he caused Giberti to write to Rangone, that he might return to the allied army,

Renzo's blind confidence.

[1] With the promise of eternal bliss; *come è ridicolo costume in simili accidenti de' Pontefici*, says on this occasion L. Guicciardini, *Sacco di Roma*, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1867, p. 175.

sending only 500 marksmen and 400 light cavalry to the city.[1] The regionary captains were to be diligent in raising soldiers; one of them, it is true, accused of treachery, was quartered on May 4. That very evening one of Bourbon's heralds appeared before the gate, sent to Renzo as Commandant of Rome, to demand free passage and supplies for the emperor's army. His request was refused with scorn.[2] The enemy's light cavalry already scoured the country as far as Ponte Molle, and German landsknechts even attempted to cross the Tiber in two boats. Orazio Baglione, however, who kept guard at the spot, drove them off, and Roman horsemen brought some prisoners to the city. In his measures for the defence, Renzo was aided by Langey, whom Francis I. had sent to Italy to watch over the interests of the league.[3] Several Roman captains and other prominent

[1] Guicciardini to Card. of Cortona, Ponte a Carnajuolo, May 16, *Op. ined.*, v. n. 176.—Sepulveda, who was in Rome at the time, also speaks of the confidence of the Pope, Renzo and Carpi, lib. vii. c. 6. Giberti to Rangone, Rome, May 4, 1527 : *expedisca alla volta di Roma* 400 *cavalli legieri et doi o tre compagni di fanti che ascendano al numero de* 500. The temper of the Romans was good ; they never doubted the ruin of the enemy : *che oltre la bona disposizione che se ritrova nel popolo la Sta. di N. S. col consiglio del Sir. Renzo et di questi altri signori ha fatto gagliardi provisioni et non é come é detto da temere in modo alcuno.* Florence Archives, *Carte Strozz.*, filza 363.

[2] *Burbon mandi heri sera un Trombetta al S. Renzo. . . .* Despatch of Fr. Gonzaga, Rome, May 5.

[3] Martin du Bellay, ii. 48. This writer of memoirs was brother to Guillaume du Bellay-Langey, whose historical work he continued. See M. Petitot, *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'hist. de France*, T. xvii.

persons, officers of the papal troops or the civic militia, showed themselves as full of zeal as courage. Such were Paolo Santa Croce, Geronimo Mattei, Fabio Petrucci, Giambattista Savelli, Giuliano Leni, Ranuccio Farnese, Giulio of Ferrara and the brothers Tebaldi.

Bourbon encamps on the Janiculum.

Bourbon's army stood before the walls of Rome. From Isola it had marched across Monte Mario to the Janiculum, where, in the convent of S. Onofrio, the Constable established his headquarters on the afternoon of Sunday, May 5. Some of the troops encamped on S. Pancrazio, others under Orange guarded the Ponte Molle and the Field of Nero. The goal of their march was reached; Germans, Spaniards, Italians, about 40,000 in all, encamped in a semi-circle, which extended from the Porta S. Pancrazio to the Torrione (now Cavalleggieri), in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vatican.[1] Bourbon forthwith sent a letter proposing terms to the Pope, and another herald to the Porta Torrione, demanding supplies and free passage to Naples. He sent a like request to the Roman people. The messengers were dismissed with scorn.

Bourbon's desperate position.

The condition of the imperial forces was desperate; before them Rome, behind them the allied army, around them the desolate Campagna; they must

[1] *Lettera scritta da un offiziale dell' esercito di Borbone a Carlo V.* in Milanesi's collection; the letter is from Giov. Bartol. Arboreo da Gattinara, brother of the Chancellor, and is printed as such by Villa. —On the way the army had been joined by Sciarra Colonna, Luigi Gonzaga, and others. Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, ii. 100, says it was composed of 20,000 Germans, 6000 Spaniards, 14,000 Italians. Gumppenberg reckons 13,000 landsknechts.

infallibly perish if they did not scale the walls of Rome in the first assault; and even if they gained the Leonina, Trastevere and the entire city on the other side of the Tiber were still to conquer. The Constable wished to attack the Leonina that very evening, but the exhaustion of the troops was too great. A council of war assembled in the Church of S. Onofrio. It was here resolved that the attack on the Leonine city, which must be made without artillery, without ladders, with muskets and lances, should be deferred until morning.

The historians of the "Sacco di Roma" have placed in Bourbon's mouth speeches to his captains and his army such as Brennus, Alaric or Arnulf might have delivered in sight of Rome; and in truth the different periods of time seemed to close in a strange circle. From the Janiculum Frundsberg's landsknechts gazed with savage hatred on the Vatican, formerly the goal of the longings and pilgrimages of their ancestors; to them nothing but the awful seat of Antichrist, as Luther had called the Pope. With justice their leaders might tell them that there was the great manufactory of those artificial politics, by which peoples and kings were perplexed and entangled, and driven into bloody wars, in order to give the Pope the dominion of the world. There, almost within range of their muskets, trembled the enemy of the emperor, surrounded by his courtiers; to-morrow, perhaps, their prisoner or dead. They themselves appeared as the avengers of the long-prevailing wrong, which

their fatherland had suffered at the hands of the Roman priesthood. They could now carry out the scheme to which Hutten had exhorted his followers, when he called on them to arise with horse and man, to overthrow the Pope, to restore the rights of Rome to the empire and put an end to the temporal power of the priesthood. The cupidity awakened in the Goths by the sight of Rome was probably less than the wild fanaticism, the thirst for revenge and spoil felt by Bourbon's mercenaries; these men of diverse race and character from both north and south of Europe, who, united by the force of circumstances, had gathered to attack the stronghold of the Papacy. In the year 1527, as in the year 410, Rome was an object of contempt to brave warriors, who told one another that this capital of the world was inhabited solely by slaves, gluttons, and hypocrites, was only the lying Sodom and Gomorrah of all sins, was decried in Germany and Spain, yea, throughout the whole world. The city of priests numbered, it is true, barely 90,000 inhabitants; nevertheless next to Venice and Genoa it was the wealthiest city in Italy. Here stood countless churches, as temples had stood in the times of the Goths, filled with gold and silver images and vessels; here were vast and sumptuous palaces, replete with treasures of a luxury that had again become classic. No enemy had sacked this city; in it was preserved the wealth of Christendom, which the insatiable Roman Curia had extorted and devoured. All these treasures amassed by priests and courtesans, by extortioners

and usurers, nay, the property of the entire people, might according to the laws of war fall as spoils into the hands of the conquerors.

At midnight Bourbon caused the drums to be beaten and the companies assembled. He himself first made confession to his chaplain Michael Fortin, to whom he entrusted a document containing his last will, to be given to the emperor in case of his death. In the dawn of Monday, May 6, the signal was given to advance. The attack was to be made principally at two places; the landsknechts, thirty-five companies strong, now headed by Conrad of Bemelberg, Frundsberg's lieutenant, were to make a dash against the Porta Torrione by the Campo Santo; further on the Spaniards and Italians were to storm the Pertusa, where the walls were ruinous and low. The bridge tower of Ponte Molle was watched by Sciarra Colonna, as if he meant to enter there; another company apparently threatened S. Paul's. The Romans meanwhile wished to send other mediators to Bourbon, but Renzo would not allow their envoys, Angelo Cesi, Jacopo Frangipane and Pietro Astalli, to leave the gate. They went therefore to the Pope, when Cardinals Valle, Cesarini and Jacobazzi decided that Frangipane and Marcantonio Altieri, with the young Margrave Gumprecht of Brandenburg, who had long been resident in Rome, should repair to Bourbon.[1]

The Leonina stormed, May 6, 1527.

[1] This we are told in a remarkable letter: Buffalini to Vitello Vitelli from the fortress on May 11, printed in a book, which has become rare: *Lettere di diversi illustr. signori et repub. scritte all' Ill^mo Sig. Vitello Vitelli*, Firenze, 1551, p. 141.

Without artillery, without even ladders, or only with such as had been hurriedly formed from stakes in the vineyards, with lances in their hands, the imperialists stormed the walls of the Leonina. A morning mist, such as frequently arises from the Tiber in May, slowly rolled towards the Vatican, shrouding the walls so that the gunners there and in S. Angelo could only fire at random. In this circumstance the Germans recognised the assistance of heaven.[1]

The first detachments were repulsed, and six banners were even captured by the Romans; the Spaniards now advanced against the Campo Santo, the Germans against S. Spirito. Philibert of Orange endeavoured to gain the Pertusa by assault, and Melchior Frundsberg with five companies remained between the Porta S. Pancrazio and Settimiana to avert an attack. Little could be seen on account of the fog; the Spaniards in mistake fired on the Germans. Anyone who mounted a ladder was thrown down. The Constable, wearing a coat of mail worked in silver, high on horseback, sprang to and fro urging on the soldiers. If the attack failed, his ruin was inevitable. Seeing Spaniards and Germans driven back, he dismounted, seized a ladder, planted it against the wall of the Campo Santo, set his foot upon it and beckoned with his hand. A shot struck him in the stomach. He

[1] Benven. Cellini, c. vii. *Densissima nebula—omnem illum locum quasi divinitus occupante*: Sepulveda, vii. 7. God, however, manifestly protected them, for whenever an advance was made there fell a thick fog: Reissner.

fell shouting: "Ha, notre Dame, je suis mort!" One of his attendants caught him in his arms and laid him on the ground. The Prince of Orange covered him with a cloak. He was carried dying into an adjoining Chapel.[1] Bourbon falls mortally wounded before the walls.

When the fall of the Constable became known a shout of joy rose from the walls, in which the entire city soon joined; it was said that the enemy was in full flight. The death of the general, however, only incited the besiegers to greater zeal. They threw themselves with fury against the walls of the Campo Santo. A moment after two Spanish ensigns appeared carrying the standards high in

[1] Cellini and Jovius prove that the spot where Bourbon fell was in front of the Campo Santo. *Prope portam Torrionis: Diar. Blasii de Cesena.* The chapel stood in the clay pits of the Vatican. Report in Mignet, p. 377. Torrigio, *Le sagre grott.*, p. 260, calls them *dei Gozadini* or *del Refugio*, and says that an inscription there in the Vigna of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci read: *Qui è morto Borbone.* According to Cancellieri (*Mercato*, p. 242) it was afterwards called "Borbone." Bourbon confessed there and died about 2 o'clock. Account in Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, i. 254. Ferronus says: *delatus est jam mortuus in praetorium Ang. Chigi* (Farnesina), which could only have taken place after the fall of the Borgo. Alfonso's agent with the imperial army (Letter of May 14) says that Bourbon died in half-an-hour: Hormayr, *Archiv.* (1812), p. 436. Brantôme heard in Rome that he had been shot by a priest. The *Urbis R. Expugnatio* in Schardius, ii., believes the shot to have been due to a blunder on the part of an imperialist. Bellay and Beaucaire believe it premeditated. The braggart Cellini claimed the honour of the successful shot. According to Torrigio it belonged to Francesco Valentini, a Roman. It was also claimed by Giovanni of Udine: Cancellieri, *Mercato*, p. 242. See also Grolierus, p. 62. Du Bellay, *Mem.*, iii. 75. Montrichart's account in the *Bulletin de l'Acad. Royale des sciences . . . de Bruxelles*, xii. 477.

air; they were hurled to the ground.[1] Meantime the landsknechts made an attack at S. Spirito, above the garden of Cardinal Armellini. The provost Niclas Seidenstücker, his great sword of battle in his hand, was the first to gain a foothold on the walls. He was followed by Michel Hartmann of Altkirch and others. They seized the guns, turned them and fired against S. Angelo. "If the Germans had not won the guns, the Spaniards would again have been driven back."

Almost simultaneously the walls were scaled at various places. In the fury of the attack, and in the midst of the fog, it was difficult to say when and where an entrance had been forced. It would appear, however, that it had been mainly effected beside S. Spirito, where a little house adjoining the walls afforded an opening overlooked by the defenders.[2]

The Leonina is taken by storm.

As this army of raging fiends, with drawn swords, dashed bellowing into the Leonina, the civic militia stationed at the Porta Torrione turned in flight; the troops of Ponte and Parione, who under Camillo Orsini defended these walls (the aged Cardinal

[1] According to Brantôme the first to ascend the walls was Don Juan de Avalos, who was killed.

[2] Grolierus, Guicciardini, Jovius, *Vita Pomp.* Bellay, ii. 50. Vettori, *Il Sacco di Roma.* The besiegers entered near S. Spirito, below the Armellini or Cesi gardens. The bastions have now altered the locality. Venier also says: *al giardin del R^mo Cesis dove manchava il muro della cita*—there Bourbon fell. Letter to the Doge, May 20. At the Church of S. Spirito still stands the memorial tablet to the goldsmith Bernardino Passerio, who fell there; OCCUBUIT PR. N. MAI. MDXXVII.

Pucci encouraged them in person), were cut down or dispersed. The Romans here defended themselves in desperation. Of the 1000 militia of the Parione quarter scarcely 100 remained; the company of Lucantonio was reduced to ten; the captain Giulio of Ferrara was killed with his entire company;[1] the Swiss guards, with the exception of a small remnant at the Vatican obelisk, fell after a gallant resistance.[2] With the shout of "Spain! Spain! the Empire!" the enemy, cutting down the armed and the defenceless alike, poured into the Borgo, which was forthwith sacked. In their ferocity, or in order to inspire terror, a swarm even pillaged the hospital of S. Spirito and slew the patients there. Houses were set on fire, and the dwelling of Alberto Pio of Carpi was burnt. Several fugitives rushed to the Field of Nero, where they escaped by boats across the river. So little had Clement dreamed of the possibility of the Leonina being taken, that during the attack he descended to S. Peter's, and there, as Jovius ironically tells us, made vain appeal to the angry gods. The enemy had already forced a way into the cathedral; the Swiss who had fled there for shelter were massacred almost in sight of the Pope.[3] Clement

[1] Buffalini to Vitello Vitelli from S. Angelo on May 11.

[2] The Swiss guard numbered from 200 to 300 men. In 1523 the Venetian orator says of them: *tutti vestiti di una livrea bianca, verde e gialla gente fiorita e di extrema belleza*: in Albéri, p. 43.—Venier says: *il povero popolo qual ha facto il dovere ma come inexperto et veduta la fuga delli capitanei li quali come intendo furono li primi a ritirarsi, si pose a fugire.*

[3] *En el proprio altar de San Pedro y por toda la iglesia murieron*

now fled to S. Angelo. Provisions collected in the neighbourhood were brought in to the fortress.

Clement VII. flees to S. Angelo.

From the windows of the covered passage Clement gazed with horror on the terrible spectacle of flight and murder. Jovius threw the episcopal mantle over him that he might remain unrecognised; otherwise, as he crossed the wooden bridge which connected the passage with S. Angelo, a bullet from a Lutheran's musket might easily have gone straight to the Pope's heart. Giberti, Jacopo Salviati, Schomberg, cardinals and courtiers, ambassadors, merchants, nobles and priests, women and children also rushed to S. Angelo. The crowd blocked the bridges, where many were trampled under foot. Giambattista of Arezzo, head chamberlain to the Pope, met his death here. When the drawbridge was lowered more than 3000 were rescued; those who were excluded rushed with lamentations into the city. The aged Cardinal Pucci, the most influential man in the Curia, fell from his horse in the flight, was ridden over, and wounded in the head and half-suffocated was conveyed through a window into the fortress. Armellini was drawn up in a basket. Thirteen cardinals had sought refuge in S. Angelo; only Valle, Aracoeli, Cesarini, Siena and Enkefort had remained in their palaces, since, being of imperialist sympathies, they had no cause of fear. Thousands fled to the houses of Spaniards, Germans and the Colonna, while others hid themselves in their dwellings. The French envoy

mas de XXX hombres. Report of the Abbot of Nagera to the Emperor; Rome, May 27 (in Villa, p. 122).

Alberto Pio, and the English ambassador Casale, fortunately reached S. Angelo.[1]

The artillery alone prevented the imperialists from taking the fortress. A band of Spaniards had forced their way to the Torre di Nona, but had turned back. In the course of three hours the enemy had captured the Borgo with the loss of only 400 men, while 3000 Romans had fallen. Bourbon meanwhile had been carried to the Church of the Campo Santo, where he could still hear the shouts of victory of his soldiers. He gave orders that he should be buried in Milan, and died with the words "A Rome! à Rome!" upon his lips.[2] His remains, borne to the Sistine Chapel of S. Peter's, were laid on a bed of state. He had been beloved by the army; on the march the Spaniards had sung songs in his honour, and when hardship made them rebellious, they nevertheless acknowledged that he was as poor a knight as themselves.[3] His companions likened him to

[1] Sepulveda, who with Alberto Pio fled to the fortress, there beheld Renzo, who was one of the first to fly; *me videnti et audiente, atque hominis sive stupor ille fuit, sive ignavia demirante*, vii. 10. It appears, however, that Renzo left S. Angelo again to attempt the defence of the city.

[2] *M. de Bourbon termina de vie par mort, mais avant icelle fist le deboir de bon chretien, car il se confessa et rechut son créateur, requist qu'il fust porté en Milan, et dit-on qu'il avait en son entendement Rome, pour ce qu'il disoit toujours: A Rome! à Rome*: Report in Mignet, p. 377.

[3] Brantôme gives some songs:

Desia les, mis Segnores, yo soy pobre cavaliero;
Y tanbien, como vos otros, no tenga un dinero.

And the stanza on his fall: *Quand le bon Prince d'Orange*, etc. *Oeuvres*, v. 225.

Epaminondas or Codrus. The Romans, on the other hand, might have said that the avenging hand of heaven had hurled this traitor to his master, like an impetuous Titan, against the walls of Rome. His life, darkened by the consciousness of guilt and the disillusion he had suffered at the hands of the emperor, could have had no grander or more tragic end. Many believed that had he lived, he would have set up as King of Naples, and it is possible that he might have undertaken the mission that Pescara had formerly declined.[1] He was only thirty-eight years old, a tall and robust man, of fair and florid complexion, an accomplished cavalier. His death was a misfortune for the Pope as well as Rome; for as Bourbon's desire was limited to the capture of the Vatican, to extorting large sums of money and favourable terms of peace from the Pope, in order that he might turn against Naples or Venice, he would probably have spared the city.[2]

The Pope holds negotiations with the imperialist generals.

Clement was no sooner in S. Angelo than he thought of negotiations. He sent Don Martino to the officers in the Borgo. They demanded Trastevere and Ponte Molle before they would condescend to discuss further terms.[3] The Pope,

[1] Beaucaire, *Comment. rer. Gallicar.*, xix. 594.

[2] *Ibid.*, and the revelations of Bourbon's confessor Michael Fortin, in Bucholtz, iii. 82. When Charles V. heard that Bourbon stood before Rome, he wrote from Valladolid on June 6, telling him to make a favourable peace with the Pope, and then to conduct the army to Venetian territory: *Ibid.*, iii. 72.

[3] Letter of Bartol. Gattinara to Charles V., in Milanesi and in Villa.

encouraged by Bourbon's death and believing it would probably be followed by the utter demoralisation of the army, refused the conditions. For great as were the first successes of the imperialists, their present position was in reality desperate. Exposed to the guns of the fortress, threatened by the allied army, enclosed within the destitute Borgo, they found themselves in almost greater danger than before the walls of the city. Clement well recognised the state of things: Bourbon's death, and the news that the enemy despaired of taking the city, decided him to renounce the thought of flight to Ostia. The imperialist generals, at whose head Orange had placed himself, meanwhile held a council of war; they resolved to follow up the victory without further delay, for Rome must be taken before the bridges were destroyed and before Urbino's arrival, otherwise it would be too late. They had captured twenty cannon in the Borgo, and these they now turned against Trastevere and Rome.

In the afternoon, four hours after the capture of the Borgo, Bemelberg attacked the Porta S. Spirito, and advanced through the Lungara against Trastevere. The defenders were driven from the walls; by means of beams the Porta Settimiana was broken down from within, the Porta S. Pancrazio from without. The Italians now descended by the Monte d'Oro to the river, led by Luigi Gonzaga, the young general of cavalry, who was called Rodomonte on account of his gigantic strength.[1]

Trastevere is stormed.

[1] He belonged to the branch of Sabbioneta, was nephew of

The whole of Trastevere was captured, while the papal troops retreated across the Ponte Sisto. A mysterious destiny seemed to hinder the defence of the capital of the world; like Jericho it fell before the spears of the landsknechts and the blasts of the enemy's trumpets.

Last resistance of the Romans at the Ponte Sisto.

The Ponte Sisto, that of S. Maria and the island bridge formed the approaches to Rome from Trastevere. Were these bridges destroyed even at the last hour, the city might be saved; Rangone, who was already drawing near would have time to enter by the Salara. But this precaution was unaccountably neglected. It was said that the Trasteverines had prevented Renzo from destroying the bridges, as they wished the whole city to share the same danger as themselves.[1] The Ponte Sisto was only defended by barricades, and swept by the guns of S. Angelo. The Roman Alberini, who, a boy at the time, had fled with his father to the Cancellaria, tells us that looking down from the roof of the palace he saw the entire population move as if by instinct towards this bridge. Crowds of people surged to and fro, but terror soon drove them back to the city. The bravest men of Rome, Gianantonio, Camillo and Valerio Orsini, Girolamo Mattei, Giambattista Savelli, Ranuccio Farnese and the brothers Pierpaolo and Simeone Tibaldi, with

Federigo da Bozzolo, was born in 1500, and had been educated in Spain. The most fabulous tales are told of his physical strength.

[1] Bernini, *ut supra*, iv. 371. The Romans showed greater prudence in 1867, when I saw the chain bridge at the Lungara thrown down after Garibaldi's forces had taken Monte Rotondo.

a few hundred horse held the entrance to the Ponte Sisto. The youthful Giulio Vallati unfolded a red banner bearing the words, "Pro Fide et Patria," and if ever Rome had need to remember Horatius Cocles, it was in this terrible hour. Renzo Orsini and his son Giampolo were also present. Before, however, the imperialists made an attack, the young Margrave Gumpert of Brandenburg, one of the envoys previously sent by the Romans, went to them, accompanied by the conservators from the Capitol, who with several other Roman gentlemen, 100 horsemen strong, and preceded by four trumpeters, advanced to the Ponte Sisto in order to propose terms to the enemy. But scarcely had the cavalcade reached the bridge when the imperialists furiously rushed forwards, and the mediators were obliged to seek safety in disordered flight.[1] Pierpaolo Tibaldi, Vallati and Savelli fell bravely fighting on the bridge. Renzo himself and Orazio Baglione gave up all for lost and fled through the city to S. Angelo.[2] The imperial troops entered

[1] Gumppenberg, who accompanied the young Margrave to the Ponte Sisto, has given a clear account of the occurrence. He sheltered Gumpert in his house; he was, however, seized there, but was afterwards released. The prince was son of Frederick, and brother of Casimir. See Annals of Kilian Leib, vol. ii. 510 of the *Beiträge zur Polit., Kirchl. und Culturgesch. der 6 letzten Jahrh.*, by Döllinger. "Warhafftige Bericht" in Buder, *Nützl. Samml.*, p. 545.

[2] Buffalini to Vitello Vitelli, with whom agrees *La Presa di Roma*, by Celebrino. The Roman Marcellino Alberino, at that time 16 years of age, afterwards author of a *Discorso sopra il Sacco di Roma*, erected a monument in honour of Tibaldi. The last of the ancient Ghibelline family of the Tibaldi was Simone, who fell at Barletta in 1528 and was buried in the Minerva.—Alberino's father, imprisoned

Capture of the city.

Rome across the Ponte Sisto. It was after six o'clock in the evening.

The fall of Rome at the hands of an enemy, who neither surrounded the huge city, besieged it, reduced it by famine, nor even terrified it by a bombardment, was an event without parallel, and a disgrace both to the papal government and the people. Rome had sunk into an effeminate city of priests; the inhabitants were demoralised by servitude and the cultured luxury of Leo's court. The Romans moreover hated the papal government, and many desired its fall on any terms, hoping that henceforward the emperor would take up his abode in the city.[1] But when they surrendered themselves like a docile flock to the enemy, they must have been prepared for a fate a thousand times worse than death. Brescia, Genoa, Milan and Prato had shown what Rome had to expect. While the imperialists thronged the streets, slaying all within their reach, crowds rushed to the altars of the

Terrible confusion in Rome.

and robbed, died of the pestilence in June, as likewise several of his children. His son's diary begins with Leo X. and ends with 1535. It deserved publication.

[1] Vettori, *Sacco di Roma*, p. 435. Ranke (iv. c. 3) says with regard to these observations of Vettori: "Rome had no strong citizen class, bound together by hereditary rights, such as at that time probably existed in every other city in Europe; her inhabitants were for the most part people who had settled there only a few years before." But is it possible, that but for a few colonists who found their way there under Leo X., Rome had almost become depopulated? True, that the political autonomy of the city had vanished; her citizens, however, had always remained in possession of their municipal constitution; the council of the people on the Capitol with its elective system, the captains of the Regions, the guilds, all survived in their traditional forms.

impotent saints; thousands fled to the palaces of the nobles; thousands to the gates to seek exit, while others again wandered bewildered to and fro or hid themselves in the vaults of the ancient ruins.

From the fortresses in which the last defenders had sought shelter, the trembling priests looked down on the Campagna, where no sign of approaching deliverance showed itself. Count Rangone, indeed, with a few light cavalry and 800 muskets, had arrived from Monte Rotondo during the attack; he reached the Ponte Salaro in the evening, and here learnt that he was too late.[1] In dismay he retired to Otricoli. Gods and men had alike deserted Rome, and the predictions of the prophet of evil were fulfilled.

Rangone turns at the Ponte Salaro.

Terrible hours passed until midnight; for until then the imperialists, dreading an attack, stood under arms; the landsknechts disposed in formidable bands on the Campo di Fiore, the Spaniards on the Navona, Ferrante Gonzaga with his cavalry opposite the bridge of S. Angelo. Terror of death reigned supreme within the barricaded houses; every beat of drum, every shot fired from S. Angelo, every trumpet blast caused thousands to shiver. About midnight the ranks on the Navona dispersed, those on the Campo di Fiore followed, and 30,000 soldiers rushed with savage fury to pillage the city.

[1] Guido Rangone was son of Nicolò (who died in 1500) and Bianca Bentivogli; his brother Cardinal Ercole was in S. Angelo. Other brothers were Annibale, captain of the papal guard in the time of Leo X. and Lodovico. Concerning this family, which still survives in Modena, see Litta.

4. The "Sacco di Roma"—Unsuccessful attempt of the Allied Army to relieve Rome.

The city of Rome sacked and devastated.

The morning of May 7 revealed a sight too terrible for words; streets covered with ruins, with dead and dying; houses and churches in flames, and re-echoing with cries; a hideous tumult of robbery and flight; drunken soldiers laden with spoils or dragging prisoners after them. According to the laws of war of that period not only was a conquered city abandoned to pillage, but its entire population was exposed to the sword of the enemy. No landsknecht could have understood that it was inhuman to treat defenceless citizens as slaves of war. The man who loved his life was obliged to redeem it by purchase. With brutal naïveté the knight Schertlin wrote in his memoirs: "On May 6 we took Rome by storm; put 6000 men to death, took everything that we could find in the churches or on the ground, and burnt a great part of the city."[1]

Nothing and no one was spared. The houses of Spaniards and Germans were sacked as well as those of the Romans. Hundreds of men of every grade had fled to the palaces belonging to the partisans of the empire. The Spaniards burst open these buildings, burnt or sacked them.

[1] *Lebensbeschr.*, p. 19. If a great military leader, who had studied at Tübingen, was so inhuman, what must his "pious" landsknechts have been? Schertlin's heartlessness in the midst of such terrible suffering is also noticed by Theod. Herberger in his edition of the letters of the knight to the city of Augsburg. Augsburg, 1852.

Such was the fate that befell the palace of the Marquis of Mantua the first night, and that of the Portuguese ambassador, where, if we may believe it, spoil was collected to the value of 500,000 ducats.[1] Cardinal Andrea della Valle sheltered some hundreds of persons in his vast palace, which, on payment of several thousand ducats to Fabrizio Maramaldo, was exempted from sack. As in all such cases, the sum was guaranteed by legal document, the people who sought refuge pledging themselves to pay the owner of the palace in proportion to the value of the property which belonged to each.[2]

Sack and devastation of the palaces.

More unfortunate was the fate of those palaces which ventured on resistance; these were blown up with gunpowder and a tower on the Capitol thus perished. The Palazzo Lomellina on the Campo Marzo attempted defence; the soldiers took it by assault; the owner was shot by musketeers while letting herself down by a rope into the courtyard in the endeavour to escape.[3] Churches and convents yielded the richest spoils, not only their own property, but the property of the fugitives who had sought shelter within them. They were indiscriminately sacked; neither the "Anima," the

The churches and convents.

[1] A Spanish account in Villa (p. 147) estimates it even at a million.

[2] Della Valle's deed (May 8) is signed by 390 persons. It is printed in the *Sac de Rome par Jacques Bonaparte*, translated from the Italian by the brother of Napoleon III., Florence, 1830. I read the document in complete form in the MS. Barberini, n. 1248, xxxii. 138, where the proportional payments for each individual are also recorded; thus the Cardinal paid 7000, the Patriarch of S. Croce 1200, the Archbishop of Sorrento 400 ducats.

[3] *Relatione di diversi casi curiosi successi in Roma nel Sacco di Borbone*: MS. in the Angelica.

national church of the Germans, nor S. Giacomo on the Piazza Navona, the national church of the Spaniards, whither Bourbon's remains had been conveyed, escaped. S. Maria del Popolo was completely ransacked and the monks massacred. The nunneries of S. Maria in Campo Marzo, S. Silvestro and the convent on Monte Citorio were the scenes of untold horrors. Wherever an entrance was forced into a convent of the poorer orders and no spoils were discovered, the intruders revenged themselves with savage brutality.[1]

We must picture to ourselves the wealth of sacred vessels in order to comprehend the amount of spoil; everything was stolen, destroyed and profaned.[2] The heads of the Apostles in the Lateran, S. Andrew's head in S. Peter's, that of S. John in S. Silvestro all shared the same fate. A German soldier affixed to the shaft of his own spear the so-called Sacred Lance-head; the Handkerchief of Veronica passed through a thousand hands and every tavern of Rome.[3] The great Cross of Constantine from S. Peter's was dragged through the Borgo and lost. The Germans preserved many relics as

[1] In Galetti (Mscr. Vatican. 7933) I found some extracts from the MS. Chronicle *di Orsola Formicini del Monistero di S. Cosimato in Mica aurea* (which extends from 807 until 1607), among them some notices relating to the sack of this convent and the flight of the nuns.

[2] I formed some idea of such scenes in November 1867, when I saw the church of Monte Rotondo, which Garibaldi's volunteers had made their quarters.

[3] *Il volto santo è stato robbato et passato per mille mani et andato hormai per tutte le taverne di Roma*: From the *Lettere di M. Urbino dato a Nepi a di* 21. *Maggio a la Signora Duchessa di Urbino*: M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. f. 122.

memorials, but the most ridiculous trophy was probably the thick cord, twelve feet long, with which Judas had hanged himself. Schertlin took it from S. Peter's and carried it to his home.[1] Even the most sacred of chapels, the Sancta Sanctorum, was sacked.

Not even the Saracens had dealt more outrageously with S. Peter's.[2] The Spaniards ransacked the very graves, the grave of S. Peter itself, as the Moors had formerly done.[3] The dead Julius II. was robbed in his coffin, and the remains of Sixtus IV. were only protected by the solidity of the bronze monument. Soldiers played dice on the high altar and drank with prostitutes from the chalices. Horses were stabled in the transepts as well as in the Vatican palace. Bulls or manuscripts which had been collected by humanistic popes were used instead of straw. It was with difficulty that, having made his dwelling in the palace, Orange rescued the Vatican library.[4]

S. Peter's.

The Vatican library in danger.

[1] It was seen by M. Crusius in 1538 in the church of Schorndorf ("thick enough for the neck of a Polyphemus") with a label, which announced that Schertlin had acquired the rope in Rome: *Annales Suevici*, lib. xi. p. iii. 600.

[2] Torrigio, *Le Sagre grotte*, p. 255, concerning the valuable objects then taken from S. Peter's. Relics were afterwards bought back. On November 26, 1528, Clement caused several to be restored to S. Peter's. The most curious fate befell the so-called Praeputium Christi, on which a book was printed and is still extant.

[3] "The cross on the gilt doors of S. Peter's Cathedral was broken off; search was likewise made for gold in S. Peter's grave" (Sebastian Frank, *Chronika*).

[4] Faustus Sabaeus afterwards addressed an Elegy on the Vatican to Clement VII. The library itself speaks to the Pope and calls itself *Tityo mutilatior* and a *monstrum*: Quirini, *Specimen variae liter. in*

The streets were strewn with shreds of documents and registers of the papal chanceries.

Many archives of convents and palaces were destroyed—an irreparable loss to the history of the city in the Middle Ages; and only by this sack can the present dearth of documents in the archives of the Capitol be explained.[1]

Several works of art were also lost. Raffaelle's Flemish tapestries were stolen and sold, and the beautiful painted glass of Guillaume de Marcillat was shattered. Foolish national hatred, however, has undoubtedly attributed to the landsknechts many outrages of which they were guiltless. Raffaelle's frescoes were not even blackened by the smoke of their torches, and the odious accusation brought against the Germans — that of having wantonly destroyed the finest statues—is amply refuted by the survival of the greatest masterpieces of ancient and Renascence sculpture.[2]

urbe Brixia, ii. 173.—Schelhorn, *Amoenitat. Literat.*, vol. vii. *Dissertatio Historica de libris combustis*, pp. 120 to 122.

[1] In general the destruction or incompleteness of private and convent archives in Rome is traced to the Sack. In the statute of the Company of the Gonfalone I found the Brief of Gregory XIII. of April 26, 1579, in which it is expressly said, that the Archives of the confraternity were destroyed *in expugnatione urbis*.

[2] This accusation is made by Belcario, xix. 595, probably on the authority of Jovius, *Vita Pomp.*, also by Capella, *De bello Mediol.*, vii. 135: *ipsa etiam in marmora et antiquas Romanor. statuas saevitum est.* Brantôme also, v. 230, and in agreement with him Tarcagnota or his continuator, iii. lib. ii. The imperialists, however, fell far short of those Vandals who ruined the Castle of Heidelberg and the Cathedral of Speyer, or who all but destroyed Leonardo's Last Supper; nor in the *Sacco di Roma* was there a trace of that Herostratus-like Vandalism shown by the Parisians in 1871. Reissner

After three days the Prince of Orange forbade all further plundering, and ordered the troops to retire to the Borgo and Trastevere; but no one obeyed.[1] The soldiers continued to make prisoners, and sacked every house down to the poorest water-carrier's dwelling. Peasantry from the Colonna estates also thronged to the city, gleaners following the traces of the troops. In his greed, Pierluigi Farnese, a second edition of Caesar Borgia, and the hideous bastard son of the Cardinal, who as Pope afterwards raised him to greatness, also came to Rome. Thirsting for plunder, he had joined the imperialists, and with spoils valued at 25,000 ducats he left Rome for the Patrimony, intending to conceal his booty in one of the fortresses belonging to his family. The people of Gallese, however, robbed the caravan.[2]

For eight days the palaces of the cardinals Valle, Cesarini, Enkefort and Siena were spared, owing to their owners having sheltered Spanish troops, and having each paid 35,000 ducats and upwards for exemption. The landsknechts however, perceiving that the Spaniards had seized the best

oddly says that the group of the Laocoon was broken in the Sack. That the arm of Laocoon had been missing long before is shown by the account of the Venetian orator in the time of Adrian VI.

[1] Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga, May 9, 1527, in which he briefly describes the horrors of the Sack. Orange's edict is dated the same day. See besides: *Copia d'una lettera del Card. di Como a uno suo segretario, data a Civitavecchia* 24. *Maggio* 1527, in Milanesi's Collection: *Il Sacco di Roma*, p. 471. The Cardinal is Scaramuccia Trivulzio.

[2] Despatch of Benedetto Agnello to the Marchese of Mantua, Nepi, May 21, 1527.

houses, were furious; for four hours they laid siege to the palace of the Cardinal of Siena, sacked it, made prisoners of all who were in it and carried Cardinal Piccolomini to the Borgo. The other three cardinals immediately fled to Pompeo's palace, when the landsknechts also sacked their houses. The spoils in Valle's dwelling were estimated at 200,000 ducats, those in Cesarini's at a like sum, and Enkefort's at 150,000, to say nothing of the ransoms of the prisoners.[1]

Fortunes of the Marchesa Isabella Gonzaga.

Isabella Gonzaga succeeded in escaping from these horrors. On May 5 she had obtained from the Pope the red hat which she had purchased for her son Ercole, and adroitly had it conveyed to her at the Palazzo Colonna, whither she had removed, after having previously dwelt in the Palazzo Urbino beside S. Maria in Via Lata. Warned long before by her second son Don Ferrante, the general of artillery in Bourbon's army, the Marchesa had provided the Colonna palace with supplies and arms, and had caused the walls to be strengthened. She therein sheltered 3000 fugitives, among them Domenico Massimo.[2] Four Italian ambassadors had fled to her for refuge, Francesco Gonzaga the plenipotentiary of Mantua, the representatives of Ferrara and Urbino, and the Venetian envoy Domenico Venier, who had been unable to reach S. Angelo. During the first terrible night Count

[1] The Cardinal of Como, *ut supra*. The Cardinals Pancrazio and Jacobazzi had also fled to Enkefort's palace.

[2] The Palazzo Massimi was burnt; it was consequently rebuilt by Pietro, son of Domenico, after Peruzzi's design. Another son Giuliano was killed in the Sack.

Alessandro of Nuvolara, whose beautiful sister Camilla was already with the Marchesa, and Don Alonso de Corduba, a relation of the Duke of Sessa, to whom Bourbon had entrusted the charge of the noble princess, also fled thither. These two officers were drawn by a rope into the palace; each demanded 50,000 gold florins for himself, 10,000 from the Venetian fugitives and the same sum as the share of Don Ferrante.[1] Ferrante himself, hurrying from the guard of S. Angelo, which had been confided to him, only arrived at the second hour of the night.[2] Nuvolara and Alonso, however, refused him admittance, until he had promised not to exempt any one, his own mother excepted, from taxation. "It was difficult," wrote Ferrante afterwards to his brother in Mantua, "to effect Madame's escape, for report in the camp said that more than two millions' worth of valuables were concealed in this palace, and this was owing solely to the compassion of Madame, who had given shelter to more than 1200 noble women of Rome and 1000 men." All remaining prisoners were obliged to purchase their release with a sum of 60,000 florins.[3] Venier, who

[1] *Andreas Lanceolinus Adamo Reisnero Illmi Georgii a Frunsperg a literis politioris Doctrinae studiosissimo, Ferrarae pridie Calend. Julii* 1527. The writer received shelter with the Marchesa and afterwards accompanied her on her flight. I found his letter in the Cod. Monacensis lat. 506.

[2] *Vero e che essendo Io con la bataglia alla guardia del Castello non pote lassar per mio honore la impresa prima de le due hore di notte.* Ferrante Gonzaga to his brother the Marchese, Rome, May 31, 1527; autograph letter in the Gonzaga Archives.

[3] It was said that a part found its way into Ferrante's pocket. He writes, however: *et Io non hebbe un quatrino.* Letter, *ut supra.*

had given himself into the hands of Nuvolara, had to pay 5000, Marcantonio Giustinian 10,000 ducats. Spanish guards defended the palace according to the terms of the agreement. But the landsknechts threatened to storm it, and it was with difficulty that Orange and Count Lodron were dissuaded from the idea. Isabella in terror left the palace on May 13 with her court and the Italian envoys, and escorted by her son embarked in a boat on the Tiber for Ostia. Thence the fugitives, among them Venier, disguised as a porter, went by horse to Civita-vecchia.[1]

Fugitives in Civita-vecchia.

Venier met other fugitives in Ostia, Caraffa and Tiene with the Theatines. After much ill-treatment, endured first in the house of their order on the Pincio, and afterwards as prisoners, they had escaped by boat down the Tiber. The ambassador persuaded them to take ship on a Venetian vessel, and the Theatines thus reached an asylum in Venice.[2] To Civita-vecchia had also fled Domenico

[1] From Civita-vecchia Venier wrote to the Doge: *et portomi esso conte fora di roma hoggi otto giorni, insieme cum—prefata Madama.* They remained six days in Ostia; on the 19th Venier came to Civita-vecchia (in M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. fol. 139).—Isabella only left Ostia, in a vessel belonging to Doria, on May 23. Despatch of Sig. della Torre, Vatican, May 23, 1527. Gonzaga Archives. From Velletri Don Ferrante congratulates his mother: *non ho voluto tardar più in basargli la mano et in alegrarme con lei che habia hauto gratia de partirse da qsta miserrima et infelice Roma, la qual dopoi la ruina hauta da soldati, dio nò resta de flagelarla con fame et peste. . . . In Vellitro adi 23. de Zugno* 1527. (Autograph letter in the Gonzaga Archives.)—Concerning Isabella's fortunes see also the Chronicle of Daino in the *Arch. Stor.*, App. ii. 234.

[2] Silos, i. 83. The first house of the Theatines was not far from *S. Nicolaus ad Campum Martium*; in 1526 they bought from Giberti a

de Cupis, the Cardinal of Trani, with the sons of Madonna Felice Orsini, who in Enkefort's house had been obliged to pay a heavy ransom. They had journeyed several miles on foot before reaching the harbour, which was protected by Doria's vessels. Here was also Cardinal Scaramuccia Trivulzio, who had left Rome shortly before the catastrophe, intending to proceed to Verona.[1] Here too was Machiavelli, whom Guicciardini had sent to Andrea Doria.[2]

The same Cardinal Caetano, who had shown himself so high-handed in his treatment of Luther at Augsburg, had been dragged through Rome by landsknechts, sometimes driven forward by kicks, sometimes carried, a porter's cap upon his head. He was thus hustled about to money-changers and friends in order to procure a ransom. Weeping, the Pope besought the Germans "not to extinguish the light of the Church."[3] The aged Cardinal Ponzetta of S. Pancrazio, who was of imperial sympathies, was first robbed of 20,000 ducats which he had buried, and then with his hands bound behind his back was dragged through Rome. Four months later he died in misery in his empty house.[4]

Ill-usage of cardinals.

house and Vigna on the Pinco near S. Felice, the spot afterwards occupied by the Villa Medici.

[1] The same Cardinal of Como who wrote the letter already quoted.

[2] His last letter to Guicciardini, written exactly a month before his death in Florence, is dated Civita-vecchia, May 22, 1527, at the end of the *Spedizione II. a Franc. Guicciardini.*

[3] He is the Cardinal whom Hutten satirises in the "*Anschauenden.*"

[4] He is buried in the Ponzetti chapel, which he founded, in the Church of S. Maria della Pace. Here stand the tombs of the

Cristoforo Numalio, the Franciscan cardinal, was torn from his bed, laid on a bier and carried in procession. Accompanied by landsknechts bearing tapers and chanting the obsequies in derision, he was thus conveyed to Aracoeli, where his tormentors set him down and delivered a funeral oration. They opened a grave in which they threatened to bury him unless he produced the required sum. The cardinal offered all that he possessed; his tormentors carried him back to his home, thence again to drag him the round of all those houses from which he could hope to obtain money.[1]

Mockery of the Papacy by the landsknechts.

The sack of Rome in the barbarous times of Alaric and Genseric was humane in comparison to the horrors inflicted by the army of Charles V. We may recall the triumphal procession of the Christian religion in the midst of the city plundered by the Goths, but we can discover no such act of piety in the year 1527. Here nothing meets the eye but Bacchanalian troops of landsknechts, accompanied by half-naked courtesans, riding to the Vatican to drink to the Pope's death or imprisonment. Lutherans, Spaniards and Italians all amused themselves in parodying the sacred ceremonies. Landsknechts, attired as cardinals, rode about on asses, a soldier disguised as a pope in their midst, and thus passed and repassed S. Angelo, where they shouted that now they would only make popes and cardinals of pious men

family, among them the beautiful monument to the children Beatrice and Lavinia Ponzetti (1505).

[1] Bernino, *ut supra*, p. 376.

obedient to the emperor, who would wage no further wars. They even proclaimed Luther pope.[1] Drunken mercenaries dressed an ass in the sacerdotal vestments, and while the animal lay on its knees, tried to force a priest to give it the Communion. The unfortunate man each time swallowed the Host, until his oppressors tortured him to death. Amid cruel sufferings other priests were compelled to listen to confessions of genuine or fictitious crimes.[2]

The condition of Rome during the first weeks of the sack might have moved stones to pity, but no pity was felt by the inhuman soldiers. Grolier, a Frenchman, who had fled to the house of the Spanish bishop Cassador, frequently mounted to the roof of the building, and in the following words describes the things which he there heard and saw. "Everywhere cries, the clash of arms and the shrieks of women and children, the crackling of fire and the crash of falling roofs; we were numb with fear and held our ears, as if we alone were preserved by fate to look on the ruin of our country." Like a second Job in sack-cloth and ashes, Clement VII. in S. Angelo might sigh to heaven, since so terrible

[1] *Halosis Romae, sive narratio Historica, quo pacto urbs Roma VI. die Majo Mensis A.* 1527 *ab exercitu Caroli V. Imp. oppugnata . . .* in Hoffman, *Nova Coll.*, i. 538. This good account was edited in 1623, and again in 1627, by Caspar Barth at Frankfort. I may observe that a complete parallel to the Sack of Rome is furnished by the Sack of Thessalonica by the Normans in 1185, as described by Eustathius: *De Thessalonica urbe a Latinis capta narratio* (*Eustathii Opuscula*, ed. Tafel).

[2] *Relazione di diversi casi curiosi*: MS. in the Angelica, p. 258.

a day of judgment had broken on the Papacy, sunk in its self-idolatry.[1] He looked on the flames of his beautiful villa on Monte Mario, to which, in revenge for his burnt castles, Cardinal Pompeo had set fire; but what was that in comparison to the columns of flame that ascended from Rome?

Terrible condition of affairs in S. Angelo.

In order to defend themselves from attacks from S. Angelo, the imperialists in front of the bridge had thrown up a trench which extended from the Torre di Nona to the Palazzo Altoviti, and from this they kept up an incessant fire.[2] The fortress presented a scene of indescribable confusion. More than 3000 men had fled there for shelter, the Pope and thirteen cardinals in their midst. On its summit beside the angel of peace waved the red flag of battle, every now and then veiled in smoke from the thundering cannon. Ninety Swiss and 400 Italians formed the garrison; the artillery was commanded by the Roman Antonio Santa Croce, under whom Benvenuto Cellini served as bombardier. Provisions there were none. The flesh of asses was a delicacy reserved for bishops and cardinals. The Spaniards barred all means of communication; they shot some children found in the trenches of the fortress tying vegetables to cords for the starving men above, and with his own hand a captain hanged an old woman, who had brought thither a little salad for the Pope.

[1] *Quare de vulva eduxisti me? qui utinam consumptus essem, ne oculus me videret.* Luigi Guicciardini thus represents him as appealing to heaven with streaming eyes; and Reissner places in his mouth an excellent soliloquy of self-accusation.

[2] Gumppenberg, p. 358.

On May 10 Pompeo, Ascanio and Vespasiano arrived with troops. The sight of his native city laid waste drew tears from the revengeful cardinal; he found the entire Roman populace stretched, as it were, on a single rack; thousands of unburied corpses filled the air with pestilence. He took up his abode in the Cancellaria, which he made an asylum; 500 nuns all found shelter crowded into a single room. Of the Santa Croce family, by whose means his father had been murdered, he gave shelter to a matron and her beautiful daughter, both of whom he ransomed. Jovius has depicted the Cardinal, who had been accessory to the calamity, as an angel of deliverance, and it is probable that his appearance may here and there have mitigated the outrages. Military and civil authorities were appointed. La Motte was made governor of the city and Philibert of the army. Bemelberg, Nagera, Lodron, Urbina, Pompeo and Vespasiano, Morone, Gattinara and others formed his council.[1] They had enough to do; jealousy divided the different nations of which the army was composed, and sword in hand they fought for the spoils. One day the Germans brought cannon into the Campo di Fiore, to give battle to the Spaniards, and it was with difficulty that the leaders averted a general fray.

Pompeo Colonna comes to Rome.

The actual sack lasted for eight days, so short a time sufficing to remove all the spoils that long centuries of rapacity had amassed in the sacerdotal

[1] La Motte issued edicts with the following formula: *Per parte di Monsig. della Mottà, governatore dell' Alma Città di Roma, per la inclita Cesarea Maestà*; the Cardinal of Como, *ad fin.*

city. Vessels, clothes, draperies, pictures, a whole world of objects of Renascence art were piled up and treated like rubbish. "Spaniards and landsknechts divided pearls with shovels; the poorest soldier acquired from three to four thousand ducats." Groups of landsknechts might have been seen in squares and streets, playing dice on boards or the bare ground. At ridiculous prices the Jews removed the wealth of Rome to the Ghetto.[1] The spoils of the city were valued at twenty million gold florins.[2] And for 250,000 ducats at the right moment the Pope might have averted the unparalleled catastrophe. After the houses had been emptied the troops ransacked the gardens, the sewers, the very graves. With their own hands illustrious Romans were obliged to clear out cloacae, since even there gold might be concealed. Many treasures escaped the plunderers, without, however, being recovered by the owners, who had been snatched away by death.[3]

As soon as the first savage desire for murder was gratified, a ransom was imposed on the prisoners; their greatest because their most protracted torment. "In the whole of Rome," says one account, "there was not a living soul over three years of age who

[1] It is recorded by a Spaniard that he saw ten magnificent tapestries, embroidered in gold, sold for 450 ducats (in Villa, p. 139).

[2] This is too high an estimate; on May 24, however, the Cardinal of Como reckoned the losses of Rome at from seven to eight million ducats. Ulloa, *Vita di Carlo V.*, p. 110, states them at fifteen millions in gold.

[3] When excavations were made near the Palazzo Verospi in the Corso, in 1705, a hoard of 60,000 scudi belonging to the time of the Sack was discovered. Moroni, *Dizionario*, vol. 59, p. 19.

was not obliged to pay a ransom."[1] The Spaniards did not even exempt their own compatriots; Perrenot, the afterwards celebrated Granvella, the emperor's secretary, was valued at 2000 ducats. Several purchased their release many times over. The Bishop of Potenza, a partisan of the emperor, was appraised three times and finally put to death. In hundreds the miserable victims were dragged about by ropes; were sold, or tossed for in the camps, or tortured with hideous cruelty. Many committed suicide. The Florentine Ansaldi snatched the dagger from his tormentor, stabbed him and then plunged it into himself. Girolamo of Camerino, Cibò's confidant, with a heroic effort threw himself backwards out of the window on the street. Many languished in prison. Thousands who had purchased their release left Rome, a veritable hell of suffering, to seek for mercy in other cities of Italy as their forefathers in Alaric's time had sought it.

Under the very eyes of husband or father, illustrious women fell victims to the brutality of the first soldier who crossed their path. When this fate overtook the daughter of Domenico Massimo, men perceived the just punishment of her father's avarice. In vain noble Roman women clung to the altars of the convents; they as well as the nuns were torn away and carried to the camp of the drunken soldiery. Glorious creatures, types of ideal beauty, such as inspired Raffaelle and Michael Angelo, were dragged naked and weeping through the streets by soldiers, while on the other hand

[1] *Halosis Romae*, and "Warhafftige und kurtze Bericht" in Buder.

courtesans, clad in purple mantles or the gold-embroidered vestments of the mass, were seen parading the streets with shouts of laughter, and priests dressed in women's garments were dragged along by landsknechts. "Marchionesses, countesses and baronesses," says Brantôme, "now served the unruly troops, and long afterwards the patrician women of the city were called 'the relics of the sack of Rome.'"[1] We may imagine heroic women seeking death by hurling themselves from a balcony or bridge, and it is probably merely in malice that a historian of the sack says, "that of such Lucrezias he could not mention one by name."[2] The Germans, more humane than the Spaniards, were satisfied with moderate ransoms. The avarice and sensuality of the Spaniards were unbounded; they outraged even little girls of ten. In many cases the Germans stabbed these demons. No contrast could be greater than that between the demoralised mercenaries of north and south: the Spaniards short, with black hair and yellow, bearded faces, were cunning and cruel, greedy and avaricious; the Germans tall, strong and fair, their hair cut short and wearing

[1] *De sorte que long-temps après on appelloit les grandes Dames les reliques du sac de Rome. Oeuvres*, v. 233.

[2] Luigi Guicciardini: *considerato quanto si trovi al presente quella città corrotta.—Et au diable il n'y en eut pourtant pas une qui se tuast pour telles violences, comme Lucrece, laquelle ne fit pas bien*, says Brantôme with frivolity. Byron, who created the figure of Olympia in "The Deformed Transformed," had nobler conceptions. We prefer to believe with Giraldi Cinthio that fathers stabbed their own daughters to save their honour. Introduction to the *Hecatommiti*.

only mustachios, were drunken gluttons and reckless gamblers.[1]

The history of mankind scarcely affords so terrible an example of the change of fortune as this sack of Rome. A man such as Poggio, when writing his book, *De Varietate Fortunae*, could not even dream of its possibility. Redundant prosperity was at once transformed into piteous misery, tattered poverty into ostentatious wealth. The troops of Frundsberg and Bourbon, who like famished wolves descended amid rain and storm on the provinces of Italy, now stalked through Rome in purple raiment, their pockets filled with jewels, sparkling bracelets on their sinewy arms; their necks encircled with gold ornaments, the property of noble women or holy madonnas. Landsknechts were seen with costly pearls interwoven in their beards. They feasted in magnificent halls, on the gold and silver services of cardinals, attended by trembling nobles. In one single night the radiant mantle had fallen from Rome, and, as in the mediaeval dramas called Moralities, the voluptuous form of Roma stood revealed to light, a mouldering skeleton, an image of naked vice! What was now this swarm of pharisees and

[1] Thus Grolierus; see also what Jovius (*Vita Pomp.*) says in favour of the Germans. L. Guicciardini expresses the following opinion of this nation: *dimostró essere per natura più benigna, meno avara e piu trattabile assai che la ispana, e l'italiana.* Kilian Leib, *Annales*, ii. 512, says, that Fabio Arca of Narni, who lost his brother during the Sack and afterwards became professor of law at Ingolstadt, was accustomed to say; *in illo nostro urbis excidio mali fuere Germani, pejores Itali, Hispani vero pessimi.*

courtiers, cardinals, bishops, monsignori, protonotaries, generals of orders, judges, barons and signors, all these fine gentlemen and servants of gentlemen nurtured in the pomp of etiquette, who had been accustomed to consider themselves the flower of the universe, and to look on non-Romans with contempt! Ragged and crushed they tottered about, lay stretched on racks, or served the rude soldiery as cooks, grooms or water-carriers in their own devastated palaces.

From the tomb of Hadrian, Clement looked with as eager longing for his deliverer as Gregory VII. had looked in former days. If the Duke of Urbino —such at least is the opinion of contemporaries— had only appeared the third day, the utterly demoralised troops would undoubtedly have been defeated. But the Duke had only left Florence on May 2, after S. Leo and Majolo had been surrendered to him by Guicciardini. While Guido Rangone and Count Cajazzo advanced by forced marches to the relief of Rome, the allied army moved slowly onwards in three divisions; the Venetians under Urbino, the papal forces under Guicciardini, and the French under Saluzzo.[1] On the night of May 4 the Duke of Urbino reached Montevarchi, on the 6th Aquareta near Arezzo. He was met here by messengers from Rome, who

March of the allied army to the relief of Rome.

[1] With the aid of the despatches of Benedetto Agnello, agent of Mantua at Urbino's headquarters, I can follow the march of the allied army day by day. These papers I found in perfect condition among the Gonzaga Archives. The plenipotentiary begins his despatches on April 6.

implored him to make haste, since the landsknechts had already reached Viterbo. On May 6, when Rangone should have appeared before Rome, the Duke arrived at Cortona, where he remained over the 7th. On the 8th he encamped at La Magione near Perugia, where he received from a messenger, who had ridden in haste from Viterbo, the following appalling note: "Illustrious generals of the league! Your excellencies have not a moment to lose, for, as you will perceive from this letter, the enemy have taken the Borgo by assault. Monseigneur Bourbon has been killed by a shot from an arquebus, and a man has just arrived here who was present at the removal of the body. More than 3000 of the enemy have fallen; Your Excellencies must make haste, since the enemy are in the greatest confusion. Quick! quick! without loss of time. From Viterbo on May 7, 1527, Guido Bishop of Motula, Commissary to his Holiness."[1]

When the Duke had read the letter, he exclaimed, "If the Borgo is taken, then is Rome in evil case, even if the city holds out until our arrival." His intention was still to relieve Rome from the Porta S. Lorenzo. The French, who had burnt Borghetto near Perugia and committed a thousand atrocities, were ordered to march onwards by Orvieto. The Duke himself encamped near Deruta on May 9, and here fugitives brought him tidings that the entire city was in the hands of the enemy. The news seems to have paralysed his movements, for he remained motionless in Deruta. On May 11

[1] Copy in the Gonzaga Archives.

Pietro Chiavaluce, a nobleman in the Pope's service, arrived, sent from S. Angelo with urgent entreaties that Urbino would hasten to the relief of the fortress. If he did so, then would the Pope remain steadfast and refuse the demands of the imperialists, namely, that his Holiness should go to Spain, should pay 300,000 ducats, and surrender S. Angelo.[1] A council of war was held; the Duke refused to set forth until Gentile Baglione had left Perugia, where he was collecting troops with hostile intent.

While Urbino wasted valuable time at Deruta, in order to overthrow a tyrant and to help in raising Orazio Baglione, this tyrant's cousin, to the government, Saluzzo's vanguard reached Ponte a Granajuolo on May 10, and there heard of the fall of Rome. On the 11th Saluzzo decided to march from Orvieto and attempt the relief of S. Angelo. His bravest officers, Federigo Gonzaga of Bozzolo and Count Ugo Pepoli, set forth with cavalry and infantry; he himself was to follow.

Meanwhile Urbino succeeded in procuring the banishment of Baglione from Perugia, and at length on the morning of May 13 left Deruta for Marsciano. He was joined here by Camillo Orsini, who had fled from Rome and was already believed dead. He sent him as governor to Spoleto. On the 14th the Duke reached Orvieto. The papal governor of the city refused supplies to the troops unless they marched to the relief of the Pope; he even rendered useless the mills in the district—a measure which was attributed to secret orders from Guicciardini.

[1] Agnello's despatch, Deruta, May 11, 1527.

Guicciardini and the Duke of Urbino.

The unfortunate statesman, in the service of the most unfortunate of popes, had gone to Montefiascone the same day (the 14th), to urge on the French and Swiss, in the hope that the Duke would follow.[1] On the 16th he came to Urbino in the camp before Orvieto. The angry Duke went to meet him, overwhelmed him with reproaches, told him that it was owing to his advice that the Pope had been brought to his present straits, that he was to blame for the failure of the entire enterprise, and that he now wished to ruin him (Urbino) also. In his indignation the Duke even accused Guicciardini of having trafficked with the corn intended for the army.[2] Guicciardini, deeply offended, went to Orvieto, where for 1000 ducats he persuaded the governor to supply grain to the troops.

In the evening the Marchese Saluzzo came to the camp. Messengers from Doria arrived from Civitavecchia, offering supplies for a month and 500 arquebusiers for the relief of the Pope. Other messengers arrived, announcing the failure of Federigo da Bozzolo's attempt to effect the Pope's escape from S. Angelo. Gonzaga and Pepoli,

[1] *Ma sua Excell. e deliberato di non moversi de qui sin tanto che non habbi parlato seco et col Sr. Marchese di Saluzo, qual e andato con* 1000 *archibusieri solamente a far spalle al Sr. Federigo.* The same, Orvieto, May 15.

[2] The Duke: *Usando mille arti per tirar Sua Ex. dove li pareva, ma che si inganava molto perche Lei non e per far se non quanto ricercava la ragion de la guerra.*—Guicciardini: *che lui non fu mai mercadante et quelli che havevano fatto tal relation a Sua Exc. chel facesse mercantia di grani, et di pane dicevano il falso.* Agnello's despatch, Orvieto, May 16.

Unsuccessful attempt of Gonzaga and Pepoli to effect the release of the Pope.

advancing only during the night, had already reached the neighbourhood of Rome, when Gonzaga and his horse fell in a copse near Baccano. Breaking both arm and leg, he had to be carried to Viterbo. Pepoli and the others rode at daybreak to Ponte Molle, whence they sent four horsemen to reconnoitre in the neighbourhood of S. Angelo. They were taken prisoners and Pepoli turned back.[1] Without the Duke's knowledge, solely on his own responsibility, but with Saluzzo's sanction, Gonzaga had undertaken this foolhardy enterprise, which was now blamed as folly. The imperialists in consequence now surrounded the fortress more closely than before, and 6000 infantry were stationed in the surrounding vineyards.

On May 17 a council of war was held in Orvieto, and it was determined that the army should set forth in separate detachments on the following day; the French with Guido Rangone were to advance by way of Bracciano, the Venetians by Nepi, the collective allied armies were to effect a junction at Isola beside ancient Veii. The Duke already despaired of all possibility of success.[2] After having taken six noble hostages from Orvieto, he marched on the 18th to Civitella; on the 19th to Casale near Nepi, where he remained till the

[1] *Copia di una lettera di nuntio Vergerio data al campo apresso roma a di 24 Marzo* 1527. Vergerio had gone with them. (M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. fol. 130.)

[2] *Il sig. Duca si diffida di poter dar ajuto alcuno al Papa, non di meno se va avanti per mostrar di non mancar dal canto suo in cosa alcuna et se dispera della pazzia che ha voluto far il sig. Federico.* Bened. Agnello, Orvieto, May 17, 1527.

21st. On the 21st arrived Monsignore Siponto, chamberlain to the Pope, to demand a safe conduct for the viceroy, whom Clement, forced by necessity, summoned from Siena to Rome to conclude a treaty, in case the allied army was unable to relieve him. Filippino Doria with a few companies of infantry also arrived from Civita-vecchia, but at the same time brought a request from his uncle Andrea for 4000 men for an enterprise against Naples.

The allied army encamps at Isola.

On May 22 the Duke's troops, the French and the papal forces met at Isola, nine miles from Rome. A muster was held; the united infantry amounted to 15,000 men.[1] Several Roman nobles arrived as fugitives at Isola, and with them the captain Lucantonio, the pupil and friend of Giovanni Medici, whom Luigi Gonzaga had set at liberty in Rome.

Clement had long been carrying on negotiations with the imperialists; as early as May 7 he had summoned Bartolomeo Gattinara, one of their plenipotentiaries, to S. Angelo and explained with tears that he had been reduced by fate to such a pass, that he no longer thought of defence, but would surrender himself, the cardinals and his states, to the magnanimity of the emperor.[2] In spite of the

[1] *Ma per il vero sono tutti una bella et bona gente.* Agnello's despatch, Isola, May 23. Guicciardini gives the same number, 15,000 men, not counting cavalry. See his information concerning the march of the allies, in vol. ix. of the *Op. ined.*

[2] Letter of Bartol. Gattinara to Charles V. While entering the fortress he was wounded by a bullet. With him were the plenipotentiaries Vespasiano Colonna and the Abbot Manriquez di Nagera. See his report to the Emperor of May 27, in Villa, p. 122.

opposition of the landsknechts, a treaty had already been drawn up, when letters of Guicciardini to the Pope from Viterbo announced the speedy arrival of the allied army at Isola. On the advice of Alberto of Carpi he then broke off negotiations. At Isola Guicciardini exhorted the Duke to advance quickly to Monte Mario and relieve the besieged fortress, with which he was in communication by signals. For in spite of the investment correspondence was kept up by secret messengers.

Urbino held a council of war. Saluzzo and the Venetian provveditori were in favour of the relief. Letters and envoys from S. Angelo represented it as easy of execution, but the Duke believed it impossible. Discipline among the imperial troops had indeed become so lax, that when the light cavalry from Isola one day ventured as far as the Cross on Monte Mario and the call to arms was sounded in Rome, not a third part gathered to the banner.[1] Nevertheless experienced judges had reason for the belief that the troops of the allies were insufficient for the undertaking. The Duke made reconnaissances, but soon abandoned the idea of encamping on Monte Mario. From Isola, Guicciardini raised a despairing appeal for help to England and France; he accused the Duke of treachery or incapacity.[2] Urbino's mistakes, his ineptitude and

The Duke of Urbino refuses to make an attack on S. Angelo.

[1] Grolierus, p. 97.

[2] *Il quale o per avere piacere che N. S. si perda, o perchè giudicasse troppo pericoloso lo accostarsi, ha temporeggiato in camino studiosamente—coll' usare mille arti e dilazioni*: Guicciardini to Acciajuoli, the Nuncio in France, from Isola, on May 28: *Op. ined.*, ix. n. viii., and similarly in n. vi.

procrastination rendered him the caricature of Fabius Cunctator, and to these defects he added the memory of the wrongs which he had endured from the Medici, so that the sufferings of Clement never disturbed his repose. He finally explained that without a reinforcement of 20,000 Swiss he could hazard no attempt. Hardships and epidemics already decimated the army, while the discord that prevailed between the generals, the suspicion and jealousy they entertained of one another, made all concerted action impossible.[1] The soldiers grew demoralised: on May 26 it was found that 3000 had deserted their flag. Entire companies, both of horse and foot, went over to the enemy's camp; the Orsini especially sought to save themselves from the inevitable ruin. Count Pepoli returned to Bologna.

In vain Cardinal Egidius came from Viterbo to the camp at Isola; in his zeal he had collected a band of troops, which would now be called a volunteer corps, and out of his own coffers promised a month's payment to 3000 men. In vain through his envoy Stefano Colonna the Pope implored the Duke at least to remain at Isola. On May 31 the council of war decided to retire to Viterbo. The Pope was thus left to his fate. And on June 2 the allied army quitted the camp at Isola and began the retreat.

Retreat of the allied army, June 2, 1527.

[1] *Il Duca è in la maggior rabia del mondo et da tri di in qua alcuno non li puo parlare che non gli voglia dir villania et tra molti altri ha molto impaurito il Proveditor veneto*: Agnello, Isola, May 26.

Clement now resolved to seek his safety in the renewal of negotiations.[1]

[1] *Quanta vergogna s'era all' esercito d' la lega, di ni haver almen tentato di ajutar un papa, ridotto in tanta calamità*: Canossa to Saluzzo, Venice, June 3, 1527: at the Orti Manara,—*vita—del conte Lod. Canossa*,—Appendix V.—Retreat on June 2 to Monterosi; to Vetralla, where Urbino heard of the treaty with the Pope; to Viterbo, where he remained three days; to Bolsena, to Orvieto. Letters from the Camp (in M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. fol. 261 *sq.*). What an inexhaustible mine are these volumes of Sanuto's Diary, the original of which has now returned from Vienna to the Marciana!

CHAPTER VII.

1. Capitulation of the Pope, June 5, 1527—Frightful State of Rome and the Army—The Troops retire to Summer Quarters in Umbria—Narni sacked—Clement VII. a Prisoner in S. Angelo—Impression made on the Powers by the Disasters of Rome—Wolsey the Soul of the Coalition against Charles—Lautrec enters North Italy, July 1527—Attitude and Policy of CharlesV.—Questions as to the Survival of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.

Pestilence raged in Rome and the troops grew riotous; from England and France arose threatenings of war. Prince Philibert in consequence wished to make peace with the Pope. But the army would not hear of treaties. The greater part of the pillagers were again in a state of beggary, and many others in weariness and satiety even committed suicide. The prophet of Siena, whom they kept with them, had prophesied truly when he said: "Dear comrades, now is the time, rob and take all that you can find; you must, however, yield everything up again; the property of priests and the spoils of war go as they come." Soldiers, in possession of more than 30,000 florins, loudly

Demoralisation of the imperial army in Rome.

clamoured for their arrears of pay. They demanded the Pope as hostage, and permission to sack S. Angelo, in which they believed that the treasures of the world were collected. Orange tranquillised the mutineers by promising to yield himself as security for their demands, and so strangely had circumstances altered, that the pillagers, choked with their spoils, found themselves in yet worse condition than their enemies in S. Angelo.

Even before the withdrawal of the allied army, Clement had summoned Lannoy from Siena to Rome to afford him the support of his authority; for Lannoy still remained faithful to the Pope, and was still carrying on negotiations with friends and enemies, with the allies and the imperialists at the same time. When the viceroy arrived on May 28 the soldiers threatened to murder him, and he fled from Rome. A mile outside the city he met Moncada, the Duke of Amalfi, del Vasto, Alarcon and Don Enrico Manriquez, who had come from Terracina with a few thousand men, and with them he returned to Rome the same day.[1]

Lannoy comes to Rome.

No one paid heed to him any longer; Philibert conducted the negotiation by means of plenipotentiaries. When on May 31 the Prince was wounded by a shot from S. Angelo, whence the

[1] On May 25 Ferrando de Alarcon wrote to Camillo Gaetani: *In la Campagna apreso terracina: Li signori Don Ugo et Marchese de Gasto et io sono arrabati qui Interracina questa sera passata . . .* he asks for bread for 7–8000 men. Original in the Gaetani Archives.—On May 29 Sigismondo della Torre writes from the Belvedere of the arrival, the flight and the return of the Viceroy. Gonzaga Archives.

besieged continued firing on the trenches, the imperialists threatened to storm the fortress and to kill the Pope and cardinals.[1] Cannon had already been planted on Monte Mario and trained on S. Angelo.[2] A mine, which reached the foundations, had also been laid from the gate of the fortress, and if driven to extremities the troops threatened to blow up the Pope and all the cardinals and prelates.[3]

The Pope carries on negotiations concerning the capitulations.

On June 1 the Pope sent Schomberg to the imperialists; he also—and this was his bitterest resolve—sent for Cardinal Colonna. He compared Colonna—his most uncompromising enemy—to the lance of Achilles, which wounded and healed at the same time; he appealed to the Cardinal's compassion and magnanimity and asked him for assistance. Together they bewailed the sufferings of Rome and their own imprudence which had caused them. Pompeo now strove to alleviate these sufferings, and henceforward assisted the Pope in raising the money which he had to pay. Clement was finally obliged to consent to a treaty, for it was impossible that he could remain more than a week longer in S. Angelo, where hunger and pestilence were raging. He beheld almost

[1] Benevenuto Cellini also claims the credit of this shot. He does not, however, sufficiently describe the proceedings in S. Angelo. How much might not a man endowed with talent and a sense of truth have preserved for posterity from this period.

[2] One of these guns, called *la Spinosa*, 2395 lbs. in weight, afterwards fell into the hands of the Romans, and Torrigio saw it in S. Angelo (*Le sagre grotte*, p. 261).

[3] Gumppenberg, p. 359.

all his states lost to him, with the exception of Umbria, which was protected by the allied army. Venice profited by the misfortunes of her ally to re-occupy Ravenna and Cervia. Gismondo Malatesta had entered Rimini; Alfonso was advancing against Modena. Even Florence, upon which the Pope bestowed more than half his care, had forced Cardinal Passerini and Ippolito and Alessandro to leave on May 16. Filippo Strozzi and his wife Clarice, to whom the elevation of these Medicean bastards had always been a thorn in the side, had borne a conspicuous part in this revolution. The republic was restored in Florence, and on June 1 Niccolo Capponi, son of the celebrated Piero, was made Gonfaloniere.[1] To their misfortune the Florentines renewed their alliance with the King of France.

Revolution in Florence, May 16, 1527.

On June 5 Clement concluded a treaty with the imperialist envoy Giambartolomeo Gattinara, and surrendered to Charles's mercy. He undertook to pay the army 400,000 ducats in three instalments, and gave as securities the Archbishops of Siponto and Pisa, the Bishops of Pistoja and Verona, and his relations Jacopo Salviati, Lorenzo Ridolfi and Simone Ricasoli. He promised to surrender Ostia, Civita-vecchia, Modena, Parma and Piacenza as pledges, and to reinstate the Colonna in their rights. Until the payments were discharged he was to remain with the cardinals in S. Angelo, and then to go in freedom to Naples or further, in order

Capitulation of the Pope, June 5, 1527.

[1] *Vita di N. Capponi*, by Bernardino Segni, published as appendix to his *Storie Fiorentine*.

to conclude the peace with the emperor. Renzo Orsini, Orazio Baglione and the foreign envoys were to have free retreat from the fortress.[1]

S. Angelo occupied by the imperialists.

On June 7 the papal garrison left S. Angelo, and Alarcon entered with three companies of Germans, Italians and Spaniards. This officer might boast that within the space of two years he had been jailer both of the King of France and of the Pope. The remainder of the Swiss guards were allowed to withdraw and were replaced by 200 landsknechts under Schertlin. "There," wrote this officer, "we found Pope Clement with twelve cardinals in a small room; we took him prisoner; there was great lamentation among them; they wept bitterly; we were all moved." The 400 Italians under Renzo, who was accompanied by Alberto Pio, also departed with the honours of war, although the landsknechts suspected that they carried with them the papal treasures. Both these forces took ship for France at Civita-vecchia. The release of the Pope himself depended on the fulfilment of the treaty; his restoration in Rome on the will of the emperor. With a stroke of the pen in Madrid, Charles V. might have put

[1] The treaty *Postquam felicissim. Caesareus exercitus . . . dat. Romae die* 5 *Junii* 1527 is signed by thirteen cardinals and nineteen imperialists: *Philibert de Chalons Princeps. Ferdinandus de Gonzaga. Conradus de Bemelberg. Johes de Urbina. Comes Lodovicus de Lodron. Joh. Bartol. Gattinara. Martinus Abbas de Nagera. Hieronym. Moronus. Loys Gonzaga. Petrus Ramirus. Hieron. de Mendoza. Loys de Vallos. Alfonsus de Gajosa. Andreas de Egnareta. Andreas Mendes. Michael de Artieda. N. de Alduna. Rodericus de Ripalta. Johes de Cepe.*

an end to the State of the Church. A first instalment was with difficulty raised by loans; new money was coined out of gold and silver vessels; the clamorous landsknechts were paid with crosses, chalices and other valuables of the church. The Pope had his tiara melted down by Cellini; and Clement seemed to throw the whole of his grandeur into the crucible. There were difficulties, however, in the way of the surrender of the fortresses, which had been stipulated by treaty, Clement himself having given the commandants secret orders not to surrender.[1] Ostia alone was occupied by the imperialists. Doria refused to leave the harbour of Civita-vecchia until he had received the sum which was owed him; Francesco da Bibiena occupied Civitacastellana in the name of the league; neither Parma nor Piacenza would receive the imperial envoys Gattinara and Lodron.[2] Unhindered by Lodovico Rangone, brother of Guido, Alfonso had already entered Modena on June 6.

The condition of Rome was terrible. The city seemed to be inhabited by spectres. La Motte having embarked for Spain, Don Pedro Ramires acted as governor; 24,000 men were still quartered in the city, half of them Germans. In constant insurrection, they angrily demanded their pay, and

[1] De Rossi (*Memor. stor.*, ii. 171) says, that he himself had advised the Pope to do so, and that Clement followed his counsel, in spite of the opposition of Giberti, Salviati and Ridolfi.

[2] Guicciardini himself persuaded the governess of Parma and Piacenza not to render obedience to the papal briefs.—Caesar Borgia's game was thus repeated. Letters of Guicciardini, Florence, July 2 and 7, 1527, *Op. ined.*, ix. n. 34, 35.

upbraided their officers as traitors who had deceived them. The Viceroy and del Vasto were obliged to seek safety in flight. Philibert himself was too young and inexperienced to fill the difficult post. Charles's advisers urged that a new generalissimo should be sent to Rome. The emperor gave the post to the Duke of Ferrara, but the Duke refused to become the general of mutineers.

On June 17 Ferrante Gonzaga went with the cavalry to Velletri. For since in Rome the famine was great and the pestilence deadly, the Italian troops wished to take up their quarters on the Campagna. More than 3000 landsknechts perished, even distinguished officers such as Claus Seidenstücker and Count Christof of Eberstein. When the state of things became unendurable, the officers persuaded the army to move to its summer quarters. A small sum of money was raised to tranquillise the clamourers; three captains were appointed as custodians of the hostages in Rocca di Papa, and on July 10 the troops departed for Umbria; the Germans led by Bemelberg and Schertlin, while Philibert marched with 150 horse to Siena to hold the city for the emperor. The places on the Campagna, which the Pope by briefs had ordered to afford quarters and supplies to the troops, beheld with horror the approach of these hordes. With the courage of despair, little Narni, the ancestral home of Gattamelata, put cowardly Rome to shame. Men and women defended the walls; but the Germans under Schertlin and Antoni of Feldkirchen attacked them on July 17, and the unlucky fortress was

The imperialists retire to Umbria, July 10.

Destruction of Narni.

destroyed by fire and sword.[1] That Todi escaped the like fate was solely due to the fact that it was occupied by the Duke of Urbino. Terni was imperialist, and in its hereditary hatred had even aided in the destruction of Narni. Spoleto, strong and capable of defending itself, sent bread to the camp at Aquasparta, but demanded payment. The Germans returned to Narni, the Spaniards to Terni and Amelia. Heat, penury and discontent rendered their camp a veritable hell. Fever carried them off in hundreds. And when on September 1 Caspar Schwegler held a review of the landsknechts at Narni, it was found that they only numbered 7000.

Messengers from Milan arrived in Rome. Leyva, who was sorely harassed there by the league, requested immediate help, and it was said there that the Pope was not fulfilling the treaty. The leaders in despair sent envoys to Lannoy at Naples, demanding that he should come in person to give his advice and take command of the unmanageable populace. He declined, and sent del Vasto as mediator. The state of things in Umbria was everywhere desperate, even in the camp of the allies, which, under the Duke of Urbino and Saluzzo, remained at Pontenuovo to protect Perugia. The troops suffering from hunger grew rebellious, and sacked and burnt the

Terrible condition of both armies.

[1] The brutal landsknecht Schertlin calmly writes again, "We made the attack with 2000 soldiers without firing a shot, conquered the town and castle by the grace of God, and put to death 1000 persons in it; women and men." See also Giovanni Eroli: *Il sacco dè Borboni* (*Miscellanea Storica Narnese*, Narni, 1858, vol. i.). The communal Archives of Narni were unfortunately destroyed in 1527.

unfortunate district. The Duke himself quarrelled with the other generals, and was distrusted not only by Francis I., but also by the Venetians, whom Guicciardini had stirred up against him. The Signory threatened to detain his wife and son, who were then in Venice, as hostages, until the Provveditore Pisani restored peace between them.[1] Anarchy reigned in Perugia. Orazio Baglione, Urbino's protégé, caused his cousin Gentile and other members of the family to be murdered.[2] And against the imperialists, who had seized Camerino, the allies could only venture on petty skirmishes in the district of Terni, whither the landsknechts had advanced, while the Spaniards and Italians encamped near Alviano and Castiglione della Teverina.

Clement passed hideous days and nights, buried alive, as it were, in the terrible fortress of S. Angelo in the scorching heat of summer, helpless, deserted and surrounded by savage soldiery. He dwelt with the cardinals in the so-called Maschio of the fortress; the Spaniards quartered below. So closely was the Pope guarded, that scarcely anyone was permitted access to his presence. He had not been allowed to retain silver to the value of ten scudi.[3] Two

Clement VII. a prisoner in S. Angelo.

[1] On July 9 Urbino in consequence wrote to the Signory of Venice protesting against this suspicion: *dat. disotto Montebono*: M. Sanuto, vol. xlv. fol. 317. The Gonzaga Archives contain several autograph letters of Urbino's wife Leonora Gonzaga, written from Venice in May and June 1527.

[2] Benedetto Varchi, *Storia Fior.*, iv. 97.

[3] The imprisonment of Clement VII. was not merely fictitious, such as that of Leo XIII. at the present day, but terribly real: *è tenuto non solo con li effeti ma con tutte le demonstrazioni da schietto prigione*:

cardinals died in S. Angelo; the usurer Armellino, who was killed by the loss of his wealth, and the brilliant Ercole Rangone, who died of privation or pestilence.[1]

From his prison the Pope sent letters to Charles V. and the European powers imploring his release.[2] The imperialists offered to conduct him to Gaeta, but he declined. They allowed him, however, to send Alessandro Farnese to Madrid. This cardinal, afterwards Paul III., left S. Angelo, but abandoned his mission; and the Pope in consequence confided it to Salviati, cardinal legate to the court of France. But neither did Salviati consider it prudent to place himself in the power of the emperor; he left his negotiations to the nuncio in Spain, the unfortunate Castiglione, who was utterly crushed by the disastrous fate of Rome.[3] The State of the Church,

Guicciardini to Roberto Acciajuoli, *Di campo* 21. *giugno* 1527. *Op. ined.*, ix. n. 28.

[1] Armellino is buried in S. Maria in Trastevere. The Pope confiscated his property. Rangone was buried in S. Agata, which he had restored. Attacked by pestilence in S. Angelo, the Abbot of Nagera, who had acquired distinction as Charles's diplomatic agent, also died about the middle of July. So writes Sigismondo della Torre to Mantua, Rome, July 24, 1527: Gonzaga Archives.

[2] He wrote to the people of Perugia that he had made a treaty with the imperial leaders: *Ostiam, Civitam vetulam, Parmamque et Placentiam penes eos deponendas convenimus.—Habuimus praeterea a Majestate Caesarea literas summae erga nos pietatis.* . . . Farnese was going to the Emperor. . . . *Multa quippe Caesare ipso nescio nec volente facta sunt.* He would soon be free. *Dat. Romae in Arce Castri S. Angeli die XX. Junij MDXXVII. Evangelista.* From the Decemviralarchives of Perugia. (MS. Vat. 7955.)

[3] *Memoriale mandato di ordine di P. Cl. VII. a Mons. Ill. Farnese legato in Spagna, quando di castello voleva mandarlo all' Imp.* in the

the very government of the Church itself, had ceased to exist; the cardinals living outside Rome were scattered; Venice wished them to assemble in Bologna under Cibò's guidance, but the meeting did not take place.

Meanwhile the capture of Rome was variously judged in the world at large. The adherents of the emperor greeted with joy the fall of the Papacy; the Lutherans were triumphant because Babylon had fallen, as prophecies had long since foretold;[1] and not only those who were in secret friends of the Reformation, such as the Spaniard Juan Valdez, but even sincere Catholics recognised a divine judgment in the misfortunes of Rome.[2] England and France did not so much compassionate the Pope as they dreaded the greatness of the emperor. These two powers — the nuncios Gambara and Salviati were active at one and other court — concluded a treaty at Westminster on April 30, and renewed it on May 29, with the object of liberating the Pope. In the summer Wolsey crossed

Impression made by the fate of Rome on the outer world.

Papiers d'Etat du Card. de Granvelle publiés par Ch. Weiss. Paris, 1841, i. 280.

[1] On account of these prophecies Rome's misfortunes made but little impression outside Italy; so Döllinger maintains in his work, already mentioned, "*Der Weissagungslaube*, etc."

[2] *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma: el anno de MDXXVII. a gloria de Dios y bien universal de la Rep. Christiana*, by Juan Valdez, printed in 1527. Charles's celebrated secretary was denounced by Castiglione on account of this violent invective. (See the letters of both in Castiglione's *Lettere*, ii. 167 *sq.*) He was obliged to fly to escape the Inquisition, and went to Naples, where he joined Occhino and Pietro Martire Vermiglio. He died young in 1540.

League between England and France.

to France.[1] The English statesman passionately urged on the conclusion of the league. He pointed out to the King that the fall of the Pope was his personal concern, especially since it endangered the dissolution — ardently desired by Henry — of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. Wolsey proposed that he should assemble the cardinals absent from Rome at Avignon, and take in hand the deliverance of the Church, in which assembly he hoped to play the leading part. He was appalled by the suggestion that the Pope might be removed to Spain, and the Papacy become Spanish.[2]

Lautrec enters Italy, July 1527.

The league, or rather France, was prepared for war, and as early as the end of July 1527 Odet de Foix, Lord of Lautrec, crossed the Alps to Italy. It was with reluctance that the brave marshal undertook the command on the scene of his former reverses. He had never been fortunate in Italy; severely wounded at Ravenna, defeated at Bicocca, he had been driven from Lombardy. His brother had fallen at Pavia. He himself was never to see France again. The Venetians also marched against Milan, and the flames of war burst forth afresh in this territory. Its defence was a difficult task for Leyva, the imperial governor, owing to want of means.

Charles himself had only received the news of the catastrophe of Rome at the end of June. The

[1] Dumont, iv. i. 483. *Commissio Regis pro resarcenda Rom. sedis dignitate.* London, June 18, 1527, in Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv. 198.— It was followed by the treaty of Amiens, on August 18, 1527.

[2] Letters of Wolsey to Henry VIII., in State Papers, i. 189 *sq.*

cruel sack of the city appalled and mortified him. He forbade all rejoicings at the birth of his son Philip, and ordered public mourning. Nevertheless he secretly rejoiced at the good fortune that had delivered the Pope himself into his hands. He made no haste to set him free. Not until July 26 did he write to the Romans; he lamented their misfortunes and promised to restore the honour and splendour of the Roman name. But it was only after a strangely long interval that he sent Quiñonez and his chamberlain Don Pedro de Veyre to the Pope.[1] On August 2, he wrote to the King of England, that the Pope was the author of the entire disaster, since he had urged Francis I. to violate the peace and had provoked a new league and the war. The papal enterprise against Naples had made it necessary for the imperial army to march to the defence of the Kingdom: against his wishes and those of the generals the troops had gone by way of Rome. He regretted the atrocities that had been committed, he was guiltless, but he recognised therein the just judgment of God, who desired to punish the crimes of the guilty.[2]

Charles V.'s attitude after the fall of Rome.

[1] The Letter to the Romans: *Illust. Magnifici Spectabiles et sinceri Dilecti, salutem. . . . dat VII. Kal. Aug.* 1527 (in Marcello Alberini). He speaks therein like an ancient emperor; *idque (nomen Romanor.) rursus per universas orbis nationes clarissimum et celeberrimum reddere liceret.* Veyre took the letter with him, but only delivered it three months after his arrival. After Clement had gone to Orvieto, it was read aloud to the Senate and was commented on with a violent invective against the Emperor. *Oratio habita in Senatu Rom.*, in Hoffmann, *Nova Collectio*, i. 550.

[2] *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 77. Valladolid, August 2, *Che ciò sia fatto più tosto per giusto giudizio di Dio, che per forza e volontà di*

Emperor and Pope stood facing a crisis, such as history has but seldom witnessed. The relations between the temporal and spiritual powers might now suffer a radical change. Had not the time come utterly to abolish this papal immunity, which dated from Charles the Great, and which had been so fatal to Italy, the Empire and the Church itself? It seemed as if by an edict the emperor might make Rome again the capital of the Empire, conduct the Pope—as the Reformation desired—back to the Lateran as a mere bishop, and finally reform the Church by means of a Council. A revolution of incalculable extent must have followed owing to the secularisation of the Church property in Europe, and the fall of the papal dominion or of the ecclesiastical state would probably have entailed the ruin of the Church in patriarchates and national churches, which could only have obtained union in a federative constitution.

The Emperor and the Papacy.

Questions of this kind forced themselves on the mind of the emperor and his servants. An anonymous correspondent wrote to him from Rome on June 8. "We expect that your Majesty will give us accurate instructions, so that we may know how you intend governing Rome henceforward, and whether some form of apostolic chair is to remain or not. I will not conceal from your

homini. Nor did even Cardinal Caietanus speak differently afterwards: *Nos Ecclesiae Praelati Romae in praedam direptionem atque captivitatem dati, non infidelibus sed Christianis justissimo Dei judicio, quia cum in sal terrae electi essemus, evanuimus, ac ad nihilum utiles nisi ad externas cerimonias externaque bona. . . . Exposit. Evangelii S. Matth.*, c. 5.

Majesty the view of some of your servants, who hold that the Sacred Chair in Rome should not be utterly and entirely abolished. For in such case the King of France could immediately instal a patriarch in his dominions, and refuse obedience to the Apostolic See, and England and every other monarch might do likewise. It therefore appears advisable to your Majesty's servants that the Sacred Chair should be kept in such subjection that your Majesty could always dispose of and rule it."[1]

On May 31, from Prague, the Archduke Ferdinand, now also King of Bohemia and Hungary, announced to his brother the capture of Rome, and exhorted Charles not to release the Pope until everything had been adjusted by a peace, else would Clement deceive him as he had deceived Francis I.; he also advised the emperor to think of a Council.[2] And that Charles might force the captive Pope to convoke a Council in order, by the imperial power, to reform the Church, and thus make himself its true head, was what the powers of the league most dreaded. England and France agreed not to recognise any Council as long as the Pope remained "a slave in the power of his godless enemies."[3] Ghibelline ideas revived the more strongly when backed by the German Reformation. And if Dante's dream of a world monarchy could ever

Opinions as to the position to be allotted to the Pope.

[1] *Lettera a Carlo V.*, in Hoffmann, i. 515.

[2] Bucholtz, iii. 89. He begs at the same time for the dukedom of Milan.

[3] Treaty of Amiens, August 18, 1527: Dumont, iv. i. 494.

have been realised, it might have been realised now. The prudent Lannoy, it is true, advised the emperor to make peace and to liberate the Pope, but he also wrote that now was the time to think of the reform of Church discipline by a Council.[1] According to the advice of the Chancellor Gattinara, even Florence and Bologna should be united to the Empire. To restore the imperial power over Italy, but to release the Pope, was the view taken by Spanish statesmen. The Spanish clergy ardently took the side of the Pope.

Charles V. sends Veyre to Rome.

Charles V., cold and prudent, withheld his opinion. He determined to await the report of Veyre, whom he had made viceroy in August and had sent to the Pope with instructions which clearly expressed his ideas. He explained that the fall of Rome was a divine dispensation intended to lead to the peace of the world and the reformation of the Church. He wished the Pope to be brought to Spain, but if this could only be done by force, then was it his intention to restore him to the Sacred Chair by means of the viceroy. The Pope's liberty, however, was only to extend to the discharge of his sacred office; and before he received even this, he must give the emperor security against any further deception. And finally he would oblige the Pope to summon a Council.[2]

[1] Bucholtz, iii. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 97 *sq.*

2. RETURN OF THE IMPERIALISTS TO ROME, SEPTEMBER 1527—THE HOSTAGES IN THE POWER OF THE LANDSKNECHTS—VEYRE IN ROME—TREATY OF OCTOBER CONCLUDED IN S. ANGELO—WAR IN LOMBARDY—FLIGHT OF THE POPE TO ORVIETO, DECEMBER 1527—THE LEAGUE AND THE POPE—THE POWERS SEND A DECLARATION OF WAR TO BURGOS—LAUTREC'S EXPEDITION AGAINST NAPLES—THE IMPERIALISTS LEAVE ROME, FEBRUARY 1528—WAR CONCERNING NAPLES—THE POPE GOES TO VITERBO—DEATH OF LAUTREC—THE POPE DETERMINES TO JOIN THE SIDE OF THE EMPEROR.

Clement VII. found himself in the same position as Francis I. at Madrid. He too was reduced to stipulate for his liberty on conditions that would condemn him to powerlessness in the future; he too received in prison letters warning him to remain steadfast and not allow himself to be forced to any unworthy step. In such terms the King wrote to him on September 14, holding out hopes of his speedy release. It was with suspicion, however, that the Pope watched the languid operations of the league in Lombardy; he already suspected Lautrec's designs on Parma, Piacenza, and even on Bologna. On September 16, Cardinals Wolsey, Bourbon, Salviati, Lorraine and Sens wrote to him from Compiegne. They feared the actual occupation of the State of the Church by the emperor; they protested against all the decrees with which, under pressure of the temporal power, the Pope might infringe the rights of the Church.[1]

[1] Both letters are given in Grolierus, pp. 131, 156.

The lands-knechts return to Rome.

Clement was now harassed by the return of the imperial troops from Umbria on September 25. The allies, indeed, who occupied Narni in their rear, endeavoured to advance into the Sabina, where the Spanish cavalry remained beside the Orsini fortresses of Monterotondo and Mentana; but their plan of attacking the imperialists and cutting off their retreat by destroying the bridge over the Anio was betrayed. The army of the league made no attempt to deliver Rome, and was in so disordered a condition that the imperial forces would have had no difficulty in driving it back to the walls of Florence. The landsknechts took up their quarters in Rome with greater insolence than ever;[1] they robbed and made prisoners, destroyed palaces and houses, the entire city seemed threatened with destruction. They angrily demanded the fulfilment of the treaty with the Pope, and would have strangled him had he fallen into their hands. Alarcon, who defended him, believed that in these tumults he perceived the hand of the ambitious Cardinal Pompeo.[2] Scarcely a semblance of government did this general with Morone and the Colonna maintain in Rome, while Orange still remained in Spoleto. The troops no longer obeyed his commands. The hostages stipulated for in the treaty of

[1] "In September we re-entered Rome, sacked the city well once more, and now first found great treasures under the ground, and lay there six months more" (Seb. Schertlin).

[2] That he accused the cardinal of the tumult, is shown by Veyre's report to Charles, Naples, September 30, 1527, in Carl Lanz, *Corresp. des Kaiser Carl's V.*, i. n. 101.

June, namely, the Archbishop of Siponto (afterwards Julius III.), the Archbishop Bartolini of Pisa, the datary Giberti, Bishop Antonio Pucci of Pistoja, a nephew of Cardinal Lorenzo, and the Florentines, Ridolfi and Salviati, were surrendered by the Pope to the Germans in the great hall of S. Angelo. A touching scene took place, all burst into tears.[1] Alarcon conducted the hostages to the Campo di Fiore; they were then handed over to the lands-knechts, and confined in the Palazzo del Cancellaria. Thence they were frequently dragged, chained together in couples, to the meetings of the lands-knechts on the Campo di Fiore, and there menaced by the sight of newly-erected gallows.

Death of Lannoy. Veyre in Rome.

Meanwhile Veyre had landed at Gaeta at the end of September. He here learnt of Lannoy's death, which had taken place on the 23rd of the month at Aversa, and he communicated his instructions to Moncada, who was now acting as governor in Naples. On September 30 he sent the emperor an account of the condition of Italy, which he found in such a critical state that he urgently counselled him to make peace, especially as Lautrec's enterprise had restored the Pope's courage.[2] He then went to Rome in order to arrive at some decision with Clement. He regretted to find the Pope still in S. Angelo instead of in the security of Gaeta; in Rome he was exposed to the ferocity of the landsknechts. Vessels were kept ready on the

[1] Vividly described by Perez to the Emperor, October 12, in Villa, p. 289; and by Gumppenberg, an eye-witness, p. 384.

[2] Veyre's Report.

Tiber, that in case of need he might escape to Ostia and the sea.

Veyre, his avowed adversary, would have imposed upon him the severest terms, nay, would have deprived him of all temporal authority; and Seron, the chancellor and representative of Moncada, would have done the same; the Pope, however, had already gained other imperial counsellors to his side. Quiñonez he won by the promise of the purple; Morone with the investiture of the bishopric of Modena for his son.[1] Even Pompeo was gained, not so much by the grant of the Legation of Ancona, as by the knowledge that the Pope, with whom he had been at such bitter enmity, would finally be restored by the emperor. In consequence of the division of views Veyre went to Moncada in Naples. Time pressed; it was necessary to remove the army from Rome, since Lautrec already threatened the Neapolitan frontier. The Pope urged him to advance rapidly and become his liberator; he must, it is true, form a treaty with the plenipotentiary of the emperor, but he might obtain more favourable conditions under the pressure of the approaching French army. Francis I. had made the Pope's imprisonment a pretext for setting the powers again in motion. The alliance between him and Henry VIII., concluded on August 18, which had been joined by Venice,

[1] This was the celebrated Giovanni Morone. He was born on February 8, 1509, became a cardinal under Paul III., and died on December 1, 1580. *Joh. Georg. Frickii De Joanne Morono S. R. E. Card.* in Scheelhorn, *Amenit. litt.*, xii. 538.

Florence, and Sforza, threatened to place all the acquisitions of the emperor again at stake; and in July Charles was already aware that Wolsey, his deadly enemy, had formed the scheme of dissolving the marriage of the King of England with Catherine of Aragon, and of thus severing Henry for ever from Spain.

Treaty with the Pope, Oct. 31, 1527.

The treaty with the Pope was settled in S. Angelo on October 31, and was signed on November 26. According to it the emperor pledged himself to restore Clement to liberty, and even to give him back the State of the Church, on condition of his neutrality; for which Clement was to give Ostia and Civita-vecchia as securities, and Cardinals Trivulzio, Gaddi and Pisani as hostages. He was, however, to pay the sum owing to the army at fixed dates. A general peace was then to be concluded, and a council was to provide for the reformation of the Church.[1] In order to raise the required sum the imperial ministers were given faculties to sell the estates of the Church in the Kingdom of Naples, and on November 21 Clement created some cardinals for money.[2]

Thus vanished the possibility of giving to the world a new form, from which the Papacy should

[1] *Capitoli per la liberazione di Clem. VII.*, in Molini, i. 273.

[2] For the most part unworthy, says Guicciardini: Antonio Sanseverino, Gismondo Pappacoda, Vincenzo Caraffa, Andrea Matteo Palmieri, Anton du Prat, the Spaniard Errico Cardona, Girolamo Grimaldi of Genoa, Pirro Gonzaga, brother of Luigi. Francesco Quiñonez, of the family of the counts of Luna, only received the promised purple on December 7, 1527, or according to others in 1528.

be excluded. It was apparently within the power of Charles V. to abolish the Papacy, to make Rome once more an imperial city, and thereby unite Italy under his sceptre. A Spanish dynasty would then have ruled the entire country, and would have taken as firm root as the Aragonese had taken at Naples. The prolonged sufferings of Italy, which succeeded the times of Charles V., the sacerdotal dominion perpetuated through long centuries, and the crippling of the national state by the spiritual power, which spread its tentacles like a polypus throughout the entire system, may well lead to the opinion that Charles V. was to blame for not rising to the great task, nay, for even shrinking before his own greatness. But such reproaches are vain. History develops in accordance with organic laws; every political event is the result of conditions, and it is only superficially that the acts of potentates appear free. In the year 1527 the Ghibelline idea of the abolition of the State of the Church reappeared in the political world; it heralded a future necessity, but Charles V. lacked the power to carry it out. Nor was the power possessed even by Napoleon, who for a moment re-established that universal Caesarism in Europe which Charles V. was obliged to renounce. That age was not ripe for the great revolution which must necessarily follow the abolition of the temporal Papacy. Only to-day has mankind become ready to receive it; only now has the thousand years' dominion of the Pope in Rome vanished away like a shadow, consumed by the

Charles V. renounces the idea of the secularisation of the State of the Church.

spirit of the age, blotted out by the mere will of the Italian people, and with the expressed or unexpressed consent of all those European powers who formed a league against Charles V. for the rescue of the Papacy. The emperor, of orthodox and catholic belief, feared not these powers alone, but also the religious passions of Spain and Sicily, the might of the Inquisition, and also the revolutionary character of the German ecclesiastical schism. The Council of State in Spain urgently demanded the release of the Pope. Charles resolved to reinstate him, but so humbled and with temporal power so limited that he could no longer prove dangerous. The emperor hoped to attain his object in the treaty of November.

War of the league in Lombardy.

The north of Italy was already devastated with the horrors of war. True, that Leyva defended Milan and other cities with admirable courage, but Alessandria and Pavia, which Lautrec in revenge subjected to terrible ill-treatment, as well as Genoa, fell into the power of the French. Bologna was in the hands of the league, and the roads to Rome and Naples already lay open to the French. The pressure of their arms also weighed upon Ferrara. Duke Alfonso, allowing himself to be won over by the great promises of France and the Pope, joined the league at a congress in Ferrara on November 15.[1] He was always French at heart, and was now to be permanently bound to France by Renée, daughter of Lewis XII., whose hand

Alfonso of Ferrara joins the league.

[1] Act in Muratori, *Ant. Estensi*, ii. 341. The marriage of Prince Ercole, the heir apparent, to Renée, took place in April 1528.

was promised to his son Ercole. Federigo Gonzaga also immediately renounced the emperor in favour of the league.

In accordance with the treaty the imperial troops were to leave Rome as soon as they received the stipulated sum of money. But the payment of this was no easy matter. The landsknechts, before whose fury the leaders were obliged to fly to the Colonna at Rocca di Papa, threatened to murder their hostages, who, however, thanks to the aid of Cardinal Pompeo, successfully escaped on November 29 from their fifty-two days' imprisonment. With the assistance of the Spaniards encamped beside S. Maria del Popolo, they fled from Rome on horses kept ready for them, and in this wise Giberti, one of the authors of all the mischief, regained his liberty.[1]

The Pope was still so closely guarded in S. Angelo that William Knight, the envoy of the English King, who amid many dangers had arrived secretly at Rome, could not gain access to him and was obliged to take his departure.[2] After Clement had surrendered Cardinals Cesi and Orsini to the German captains, and with the aid of Pompeo had paid a part of the sum owing, he demanded his release. It was fixed for December 9. But as Moncada and Veyre made difficulties, he gained

[1] Gumppenberg has given a vivid description of all these occurrences, of which he was an eye-witness, being at the time employed as agent and interpreter by the landsknechts.

[2] Knight wrote an attractive account of his dangerous journey and sojourn in Rome; Letter to Henry VIII., Foligno, December 4, 1527, *State Papers, King Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. v. p. 16.

the consent of Luigi Gonzaga, colonel of the imperial cavalry, and Morone to a secret departure. On the night of December 8, 1527, disguised, borne in Morone's litter and surrounded by Morone's servants, he quitted S. Angelo.[1] Gonzaga received him on the Field of Nero; on horseback he hurried past Cesano to Viterbo, and safe and sound reached the strong city of Orvieto after seven miserable months. He arrived on the night of December 10, accompanied by five cardinals. Not until he had made himself known was he allowed admittance. A few days after his departure, S. Angelo was handed over to the papal troops under Carlo Astaldi, and the spiritual government was restored in the city.

Clement VII. escapes to Orvieto, Dec. 8, 1527.

The Pope established his quarters in the deserted episcopal palace of Orvieto, where Cardinal Ridolfi was bishop. On January 11, 1528, Clement thanked the emperor for his release and professed himself willing to remain loyal to him, in the confidence that Charles would restore the prestige of the Papacy.[2] Meanwhile he regarded Lautrec as his real deliverer, and by letter thanked both him and

[1] In sign of mourning Clement VII. had allowed his beard to grow in the Vatican. Valeriano afterwards wrote an apologia *Pro Sacerdotum Barbis* to Cardinal Ippolito Medici, which was printed in Rome with the permission of Clement VII.: Appendix to the Venice edition (1604) of his "Hieroglyphica." He says there: *Aulae Romanae Critici delicatuli in nostrismet funeribus, in Italiae totius eversione, in Romanae urbis excidio, foedaque direptione nos moerere prohibeant?*

[2] Italian letter, Orvieto, January 11, 1528, in Lanz, n. 103. It is the answer to Charles's letter from Burgos of November 22, 1527, in which the Emperor already congratulates Clement on his release, of which he had received private information through France.

King Francis. Soon after his arrival the Duke of Urbino, the Marquis of Saluzzo, Federigo da Bozzolo and Luigi Pisani hurried to Orvieto to congratulate the Pope on his deliverance, in effecting which they had been so lamentably unsuccessful. The brave Federigo Gonzaga died at Todi immediately after leaving the Pope. Clement bewailed the loss of one of the last of the celebrated condottieri who had done honour to the Italian name.[1] In truth the military renown of the Italians now vanished, and if among them any appeared endowed with the talents of a general, it was to serve under the banner of the emperor. Nothing could have been more painful to Clement than his meeting with Francesco Maria. Even had the Duke been guiltless of treachery, the indignity suffered at his hands must be vividly present to the Pope's mind. Clement, however, received him with every honour, and so accomplished a diplomatist was the Pope, that he even held out hopes of a marriage between the Duke's son Guidobaldo and Catherine de Medici.[2]

The Pope in Orvieto.

All the heads of the league besought him openly to declare in its favour. Lautrec, who had entered Bologna on December 19, sent to him Guido Rangone, Paolo Camillo Trivulzio, and the young Vaudemont. Gregorio Casale, who, though a Bolognese, had long been in the English service as diplomatist, exhorted him in behalf of England,

[1] *In hac Ducum raritate:* Letter to Francis I., Orvieto, December 31, 1527. Molini, i. 287.

[2] Ugolini, *Duchi d' Urbino*, ii. 242.

and Stephen Gardiner and Fox soon arrived bearing the same commission that Knight should have formerly borne to S. Angelo; namely, the demand for the papal sanction to the ominous divorce, which was soon to become the ground of England's separation from the Roman Church.[1] The English envoys were surprised at the Pope's pitiable position in Orvieto, where he found himself as badly provided for as ever in S. Angelo. The apartments which he occupied were ruinous and destitute of necessaries; the bed and furniture of his sleeping-room were barely worth twenty nobles; famine and dire penury reigned in Orvieto.[2]

The powers entreat him to join the league.

Francis I. sent Longueville with congratulations and the explanation that the league was resolved energetically to continue the war. After the conquest of Naples, a ruler acceptable to the Pope was to be placed on the throne. With his accustomed ambiguity, Clement resorted to his old artifices; he professed himself neutral, but listened to proposals and imposed conditions.[3] One of these was the surrender of Ravenna and Cervia, for scarcely was he released from the fortress, when he sent the Archbishop of Siponto to Venice to demand the

[1] Knight executed his commission in Orvieto; thence on December 16, 1527, Clement wrote to Henry VIII., telling him this, and saying that he would do everything to satisfy the king's wishes. *State Papers VII. King Henry VIII.*, p. v. 27. Other letters of Knight's show the pitiable attitude of the Pope in the matter of the divorce.

[2] Gardiner and Fox to Henry VIII., Orvieto, March 31, 1528. They had arrived there on March 20. *State Papers, ut supra*, p. 63.

[3] *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 82. Sanga to Gambara, Orvieto, February 9, 1528.

surrender of these cities. This surrender he made—at least diplomatically—the necessary condition of his joining the league. Venice, however, refused to listen to the proposal.

Clement, always the prey of his suspicion, was angry that Francis I. should have taken Florence and Ferrara under his protection; he refused to recognise the articles which had been agreed upon with Alfonso, and, as before, demanded Modena and Reggio. With distrust he saw Parma and Piacenza in the power of Lautrec, and the marshal himself in Bologna, whence, pending the issue of the negotiations between France and Charles V., he hesitated to depart. The negotiations failed, in spite of the moderation of the emperor, who even offered to renounce Burgundy in favour of peace, and on January 28, 1528, the ambassadors of the powers assembled in Burgos declared war. France was encouraged in this course by the early progress made by Lautrec.

The powers declare war against Charles V., Jan. 28, 1528.

The Pope wished the marshal to take the road by Rome; Lautrec, however, chose the shorter route from the Romagna to the kingdom. To their misfortune, the Florentines had sent troops to join him, namely, 4000 men of the *Bande Neri*, under Orazio Baglione. The marshal was accompanied by a papal nuncio, Pierpaolo Crescenzi. His march had the effect of restoring to Clement the possession of Imola and Rimini.[1] Scarcely had Lautrec

[1] Guicciard., xix. 280. Lautrec left Bologna on January 10, 1528. Despatch of this date of Ludovico Ceresara, Agent of Mantua, with the Marshal. Agents of this kind followed the headquarters of the

crossed the Tronto on February 10, when the barons of the Angevin party rose throughout the kingdom. It now behoved the imperialists to deliver Naples, which was threatened, and the troops hurried thither from Rome. After furious struggles they resolved to follow the exhortations of Ferrante Gonzaga and Moncada's summons. The Pope sent 40,000 gold florins from Orvieto, mostly under the pretext that the money was given by the Roman magistrates, and Lautrec consequently reproached him that he was equipping the enemy for the march on Naples. From Galera, where he had spent the winter, Orange came to Rome, and then hurried to Naples, whence he brought some money on February 9 to appease the German landsknechts. Del Vasto persuaded the Spaniards voluntarily to depart.[1] The ranks of the imperial troops were greatly reduced; of the leaders, several of the foremost were missing. Melchior, Frundsberg's youthful son, had died of the pestilence on January 13.[2] A review showed

Lautrec enters Neapolitan territory.

belligerent powers as journalists do now, but in a better, because more official, position. Ceresara's despatches from January to May, when Lautrec arrived before Naples, are preserved in the Gonzaga Archives.

[1] Morone to the Emperor, Rome, February 11, 1528 (Dandolo, *Ricordi*, p. 248). Perez kept the Emperor circumstantially informed of these matters. (See his despatches in Villa.)

[2] The monument erected to him by Caspar Schwegler in the Anima bears the inscription: *Melchiori A Froindsberg Georgii Equitis Splendidiss. Caesarianiq. Germanici Peditatus Bello Italico Praef. Filio Qui Dum Honestiss. Ordines Duceret In Urbe Idib. Januarii MDXXVIII Immatura Morte Interceptus Est XXI. Aetatis Suae Anno. Gaspar Swegler Alumnus Questor Exercitus Militum Tribunus B. M. R.*

only 1500 cavalry, 4000 Spaniards, upwards of 2000 Italian infantry, and 5000 landsknechts. After a sack which had lasted nine months, these terrible forces left Rome on February 17, 1528, to march to Naples. And scarcely had they departed by the Porta S. Giovanni when the Orsini Amico of Arsoli, the leader of a band, and the Abbot of Farfa, burst into the city at the head of a hastily collected mob. The Trasteverines, the inhabitants of the Regola, and those of Monti, banded themselves together. They attacked the stragglers of the army, slew or threw them into the river; they even strangled patients in the hospitals and robbed what was left to rob. All the houses of the Jews were sacked.

The imperialists leave Rome to march to Naples, Feb. 17, 1528.

The retreating army carried with it Bourbon's remains in a leaden coffin, in order to remove them from the vengeance of the Romans. They were afterwards interred in a tomb at Gaeta.[1] In revenge for the attack of the Orsini the imperialists burnt Rocca Priora and Valmontone. Leaving their artillery at Montefortino under the custody of Giulio Colonna, they advanced into Neapolitan territory.

A terrible war again scourged Lombardy and Naples at the same time. The French under S. Pol and the Venetians under Urbino attacked the imperialists, while Leyva defended Milan, supported by landsknechts who had been led to Italy by Duke

[1] Brantôme saw and has described it (*Oeuv.*, v. 239). The inscription ran: *Aucto Imperio Gallo Victo Superata Italia Pontifice Obsesso Roma Capta Carolus Borbonius In Victoria Caesus Hic Jacet:* in Belear., xix. 594. Another is given by Reissner.

Erich of Brunswick. The Romans trembled before this new danger, for it was said that these troops were to advance to Naples. They turned for advice to Casale, the English envoy at Orvieto. They contemplated equipping 4000 men, destroying the bridges across the Tiber and defending the city, which Count Nicolò of Tolentino commanded for the Pope. They even hoped for aid from the Abbot of Farfa. Their best defence was perhaps the arid desert to which the Campagna had been reduced for miles round the city.[1] Levya defends Milan.

Lautrec was victorious in Neapolitan territory until April, when the war resolved itself into the bloody siege of the capital. The city was defended by Moncada with all the foremost generals, Orange, Don Ferrante, Orbina, Alarcon, del Vasto, Bemelberg and Schertlin. The opening movements turned in favour of the French; on April 25 they won a naval battle under Filippino Doria; Moncada and Ferramosca were killed in the engagement, also the Marchese del Vasto; Ascanio and Camillo Colonna, Seron and several other nobles were made prisoners.[2] Lautrec besieges Naples.

Clement watched with anxiety the progress of this war, on the fortunes of which depended his resolutions. Famine drove him from Orvieto to Viterbo on June 1.[3] He first made his abode Clement VII. at Viterbo.

[1] Molini, ii., n. 172. Casale to Montmorency, Orvieto, May 23, 1528.

[2] Moncada, fighting bravely, was killed by a stone and thrown into the sea, like Ferramosca. Giannone, lib. xxxi., c. 4. Orange now became viceroy in Naples.

[3] *I. die Junii papa recessit Orvieto versus Viterbium, fuit in prandio in Monte Fiascone, de sero recessit cum magna pluvia*

in the ancient fortress, then entered the Palace of Cardinal Farnese at the Porta Romana. On June 8 he made this Cardinal legate for Rome and Campeggi legate for England; whereupon the imperial envoy at once raised a protest against the possibility of annulling the royal marriage.[1]

Terrible condition of Italy.

Clement must have shuddered at the sight which Italy presented on all sides. From the Alps to the Faro the country was one single battlefield for Spaniards, Germans, French, and Italians; the condition of its towns and districts resembled that which prevailed during the Gothic war. If he compared his reign with the reigns of Leo and Julius II., he was obliged to confess that he had lost what they had won; Modena and Reggio, Ravenna and Florence had vanished; Rome was a heap of ruins. He was himself disgraced, deprived of all respect, of all power, a plaything of the rival parties. In the history of the Church there is scarcely any pope who was so utterly miserable as Clement VII., nor any whose misfortunes excited so little compassion. If he enquired into the causes of his misfortunes, the venerable Egidius of Viterbo could have told him that they were none other than the corruption of the Papacy owing to its political distortion.

He continued his oscillating policy, wavering to and fro according to his wont; for misfortune, as Guicciardini remarks, had not quenched his

usque Viterbium: Diar. Blasii Baroni Martinelli. MS. in the Munich Library; the pages are not numbered.

[1] Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga, Viterbo, June 8.

inclination to falsehood and artifice. Since the Papacy still remained a principle of such importance that the political balance of Italy could not be adjusted without it, each of the powers besought his adhesion. He held negotiations with all, and to all held out hopes. The league demanded that he should excommunicate the emperor and pronounce him forfeit both of Naples and the empire. Francis I. would then instal Angoulême his third son as King in Naples and marry him to Catherine Medici. The surrender of Ravenna and Cervia, on which the Pope made his adhesion dependent, was vainly urged by the Vicomte Turenne on the republic of Venice, whose ambassador Contarini had arrived at Viterbo two days after the Pope.[1] But Clement still remained undecided; he was awaiting the results of Lautrec's enterprise in Naples.[2] Through his envoy Gianantonio Muscettola the emperor again exhorted him to form an honest alliance with him and renounce the friendship of France. The King of England pressed for the dissolution of the marriage. Did he refuse Henry, he offended the powerful Defender of the Faith, who was so zealous against Luther; if he yielded to his will, he insulted the emperor. Clement was weak enough to send the Cardinal legate Campeggi with the bull desired by Wolsey to

Diplomatic vacillation of the Pope.

[1] Report of Contarini of 1530, in Alberi ii. iii. 260; and *Contarini Gasparo Dispacci al Senato, come Ambasciatore a Roma* 1528–1529, *Bibl. Marciana, Class. It.* vii., Cod. 1043. His first despatch from Viterbo is dated June 5.

[2] *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 118, Letter to Cardinal Salviati, Viterbo, August 21, 1528.

the English court in July; he was instructed to show it to the king alone, yet not to publish it, but on the contrary to burn it.[1]

A French fleet meanwhile lay off Corneto. Renzo, who had arrived in it, laid siege to Civita-vecchia, when the Pope, in defiance of his neutrality, aided him with munitions. The fleet sailed to Naples, and Renzo's son alone continued the siege of Civita-vecchia.[2]

The unexpected turn of the Neapolitan war finally determined the mind of the Pope. Lautrec's success turned to lamentable defeat. Pestilence raged in both camps; the pillagers of Rome as well as their opponents were decimated by sword and disease. Veyre fell; the Roman Tibaldi and Orazio Baglione were killed; Luigi Pisani, the nuncio Crescenzi, Camillo Trivulzio, the lord of Pomperan, the young Vaudemont, all died of pestilence, and on August 15 Lautrec himself fell a victim.[3] The unfortunate Marshal was buried under a sand-heap in his own tent, in the vineyard of the Duke of Montalto before Naples; he was afterwards disinterred by a Spanish soldier, who carried him on his shoulders through the entire city and kept him in a cellar, in the hope that some Frenchman would redeem the body. The nuns of S. Chiara, whose convent had been founded

Death of Lautrec and overthrow of his army before Naples, Aug. 1528.

[1] Guicciardini, xix. 318. Concerning the existence of this bull, see the note in Ranke, v. c. 4, 95, and in de Leva, ii. 500.

[2] Despatches of Contarini, *ut supra*, from July 10 to 16, 1528.

[3] The war and siege of Naples are described in *Successi del Sacco di Roma e guerra del Regno di Napoli solto Lautrec* by Leonardo Santoro da Caserta, a contemporary. This excentric production has been published by Scipione Volpicella, Naples, 1828.

by King Robert, bought it in pity, and gave it honourable burial in their church.[1] The Romans also honoured the memory of Lautrec as the deliverer of their city from the imperialists; and by a decree of the Senate his obsequies were celebrated in the Lateran.[2]

The besieged army, in a state of disorganisation, was led by Saluzzo and Navarro to Aversa. The celebrated Navarro, who had risen from the condition of servant to be Grand-Admiral of Spain and the first engineer of his time, and had then renounced his country, was made a prisoner and met a miserable death, strangled as it would appear in Castel Nuovo. The *Bande Neri* under Ugo Pepoli were annihilated, and Saluzzo and Rangone surrendered at Aversa in the beginning of September. The former died of his wounds at Naples, the other obtained his liberty and went to Rome.[3] Seldom has a war been so fatal. The pitiable remains of the French army staggered like ghosts along the roads, carrying white sticks, the signs of beggary, or died penned like animals in the royal stables of

[1] Santoro, p. 115. According to Giannone, it was Gonsalvo, Duke of Sessa, grandson of the great captain, who erected the monument in S. Maria Nuova to him, and who also placed there the monument to Navarro.

[2] Even in the time of Torrigio his memory was yearly celebrated in Rome in S. Angelo al Corridore and S. Luigi dei Francesi: *per l'anima di Mons. Lotrecco liberatore di questa alma Citta: Le sagre grotte*, p. 263.

[3] The remains of Saluzzo were interred at Aracoeli in Rome in 1575, where may be seen the bust of the Marchese with the inscription: *Michaeli Antonio Marchioni Salutiarum Ex Impp. Saxonum Familia.*

the Maddalena. Others were dragged in detachments to Rome, where they were provided with food and allowed to encamp outside the walls. "The French," said Reissner, "have never had any luck in Naples; and their hands have never been cleansed from the innocent blood of Conradin, the last young prince of Swabia."

Naples under the yoke of Spain.

The yoke of Spain now pressed with iron severity on the Kingdom of Naples. Philibert, the viceroy of Charles, and his counsellor Morone punished the nobles of the Angevin party with confiscation of their property, imprisonment and death. Several great nobles died on the scaffold, among them Federigo Gaetani, son of the Duke of Traetto, and Enrico Pandone, Duke of Boviano. On the same market-place where in former days Conradin had been executed, the Prince of Orange from a balcony draped in black watched the murderous work.[1] The entire Kingdom was turned into a scene of terror and a pestilential graveyard. Thus Spain erected her dominion, and thus Charles again triumphed over the league, especially since Andrea Doria deserted the French service for that of the emperor and restored freedom to his native city Genoa in October 1528.

For once it had been a lucky star that pointed out the right path — the path of neutrality — to Clement. The victory of the Emperor (it was only in the Abruzzi and on the coasts of Apulia that a desultory warfare was still prosecuted) left him no

[1] Santoro, p. 128, gives the long list of the persecuted barons, no fewer than 1700.

choice but to show himself submissive towards Charles, and, as Charles desired, to return to Rome. The Emperor promised him to supply the famished city with corn from Sicily, to help him in every way, and even to restore Ostia and Civita-vecchia. The Pope shrank from the thought of Rome; he feared the return of Orange and his savage troops; the state of the city and Campagna were also calculated to inspire terror. Throughout Latium, the Sabina and Tuscany, war raged between the Orsini and Colonna on account of a disputed succession. Vespasiano, husband of the beautiful Giulia Gonzaga, had died on March 13, 1528, leaving by his first wife Beatrice Appiani, an only daughter Isabella, and the hand of the wealthy heiress had been promised to the young Ippolito Medici.[1] The Pope ordered the estates of Vespasiano to be occupied. In his service Sciarra Colonna penetrated to Paliano, where Giulia and Isabella were at the time, but Sciarra was attacked and taken prisoner by the Abbot of Farfa. A furious war between the Orsini and Colonna — Ascanio and Prospero raising claims to Paliano — was the result of the quarrel, when several towns, even Tivoli, Anagni and Rieti, were laid waste. Clement sent to Paliano the brave Luigi Gonzaga, who banished the Abbot of Farfa and reinstated

Clement VII. leans towards the Emperor.

War in the Campagna between the Colonna and Orsini.

[1] The marriage of Vespasiano with this, the most beautiful woman in Italy, the daughter of Lodovico Gonzaga, was brought about by the Marchesa Isabella, in Rome, on July 25, 1526: Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga to the Marchese of Mantua, written that day from Rome: Gonzaga Archives.

his sister Giulia in her property. She rewarded his services by the secret treaty with the rich heiress Isabella, which the Pope, although reluctantly, was obliged to approve.[1]

. In the beginning of October, Clement decided to yield to Muscettola's urgent entreaties and return to Rome.

3. The Pope returns to Rome, October 6, 1528 —Condition of the City—A Glance at the Fate of Artists and Scholars during the Sack.

The city presented a terrible picture of the sufferings it had endured. The hospitals were filled with patients; the streets, blocked with dirt and rubbish, ruinous and burnt, were crowded with piteous figures begging for bread.[2] According to the exaggerated account of a contemporary, 13,600 houses had been destroyed by the imperial troops.[3] Four-fifths of the city were uninhabited.[4]

[1] *Lett. di Princ.*, ii. 140. Coppi, *Mem. Colon.*, p. 300. According to Litta, Luigi was married to Isabella in 1531. He died as early as December 3, 1532, during the siege of the Abbot of Farfa, in Vicovaro; whereupon his widow married Filippo di Lannoja, Prince of Sulmona, son of the Viceroy Charles de Lannoy. The Emperor had given Sulmona to Lannoy on February 20, 1526. Ireneo Affò, *Vita di Luigi Gonzaga detto Rodomonte*, Parma, 1780. He was also a poet and the friend of Molza and Ariosto. (Trucchi, *Poesie ital. ined.*, iii. 236.)

[2] *Non si sentivano che voci di mestizia, e che poveri chiedere ajuto, et erano in tanta copia, che mettevano paura:* Alberini, MS.

[3] *Ricordi del Bontempi* (of Perugia), *Archiv. Stor.*, xvi. p. 2, 238.

[4] *Roma è a termine, che delle cinque parti le quattro delle habitationi sono dishabitate:* Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga, Rome, October 7, 1528.

The ruined nobles had retired to their estates; foremost among them the Colonna, whom the people avoided as the authors of the sack; and at the end of the year 1527, Pompeo had gone to Naples to escape the hatred of the populace.[1] Processions were held daily; repentance was preached in every street; the priests who distributed bread, endeavoured to soothe the populace and to prepare for the Pope's return, and "the good people yielded."[2]

Clement VII. returns to Rome, Oct. 6, 1528.

When on October 6, 1528, Clement returned to Rome, accompanied by his Swiss guards, and protected by a troop of the hated imperial infantry, he might have compared himself with Honorius on the occasion of the wretched Emperor's return to the city after it had been sacked by Alaric. The Pope arrived amid torrents of rain, and shortly before dark. No one came to receive him; he had so willed it himself, the time not being suitable for ceremonies.[3] The Roman people, more miserable than their forefathers at the end of the exile at Avignon, surrounded him with acclamations, and every shout must have gone to his heart like a reproachful cry of despair. He rode in tears

[1] In July 1529, Pompeo became viceroy in place of Philibert, the first cardinal to hold such a post. He died on June 28, 1532, at Naples, only fifty-three years old. Don Pedro de Toledo, Marchese of Villafranca, succeeded him as viceroy.

[2] MS., Alberini, *ut supra*.

[3] Despatch of Francesco Gonzaga, Rome, October 7, 1528. The Pope had left Viterbo on Monday, 5, and spent the night at Monterosi. The roads were unsafe owing to the war between the Colonna and Orsini. Contarini's Despatch, Rome, October 8, 1528.

through the city, bestowing his blessing. Several times he stretched out his arms, as if he wished to embrace Rome, then raised them to heaven. Passing by S. Angelo, the sad memorial of his past, the miserable Pope went to S. Peter's, where he prostrated himself at the Apostle's grave. The annals of the Church contain no such melancholy account of any papal entry.

Consequences of the Sack on Rome.

Clement VII. might now have become the restorer of Rome, as Honorius had formerly been. He recalled the fugitives from exile; they came, though in small numbers; Rome was depopulated. It was reckoned that 30,000 had lost their lives at the hands of the enemy, or owing to privation or pestilence.[1] The population, which under Leo X. had numbered 85,000 or upwards, was now, as statistics showed, reduced to 32,000.[2] The Romans, in bitter irony, said that the emperor should send colonists from Sicily, Naples, and Sardinia, to Rome.[3] A devastating flood had swept over the wealth of beauty which had been collected by the popes of the Renascence. The sack destroyed the culture of the city, and for ever closed the Medicean period, in which Raffaelle and Michael Angelo had marked the zenith of genius.

The fugitives who returned with Clement searched for their friends in the circles of the Academy and the artistic world of Leo X., and discovered that

[1] *Morirono da* 30,000 *persone da patimenti*, says Alberini, and he adds that 40,000 took the pestilence.

[2] Jovius, *Vita Leonis X.*, p. 100.

[3] *Oratio habita in senatu*, in Hoffmann, *Nova Collectio*, i. 586.

they had either disappeared or been reduced to beggary. Raffaelle was accounted happy, in that he already rested in his grave, and Michael Angelo that he was not in Rome. For even they would have been sacrificed to the ruthless soldiery. The ravagers had not spared artists, and only a few (such as the sculptors Lorenzi Lotti, Raffaelle da Montelupo, and Benvenuto Cellini) had been successful in escaping to S. Angelo.[1] Peruzzi had been tortured and robbed by the Spaniards; recognised as an artist, he had been obliged to paint Bourbon's portrait. Released, he fled to Siena, but was again robbed by thieves on the way.[2] The school of Raffaelle was dispersed; Caravaggio had escaped to Messina; his friend Maturino had died of pestilence. Giovanni da Udine, tortured and robbed, had gone to Friuli; Vincenzo of S. Geminiano had fled to his native town, where he pined in longing for Rome, and soon died.[3] The Florentine Rosso, afterwards a favourite of Francis I., had been obliged to act as servant to the soldiers, and was reduced to beggary. Jacopo Sansovino had succeeded in escaping to Venice. Giulio Romano was no longer in Rome;

Fate of artists during the Sack.

[1] All three were employed there as gunners: *Autobiografia di Raffaello da Montelupo* in Vasari, vol. vii. 189 (Florence, 1852).

[2] Vasari, viii. 228. It redounds to the honour of the great artist, that he refused to lend his aid to Clement VII. in besieging Florence. He returned to Rome in 1535, and died here on January 6, 1536. He is buried beside Raffaelle.

[3] Outside the atmosphere of Rome, which, as Vasari (viii. 148) says, nourishes men of genius, he never again achieved anything great, like Schizzone, whose joyous gifts perished under the sufferings he endured, and who died early.

and his pupil Giulio Clovio had endured so much suffering that he vowed to take the religious habit, and afterwards fulfilled his resolve in Mantua. The celebrated engraver on copper, Marcantonio, purchased his release and quitted Rome for ever. After having appeased the wrath of the pillagers by the paintings which he executed for them, Parmigianino also fled to Parma.

Still more unfortunate were the literati. Intellectual life revived in Rome on the death of Adrian VI. Many scholars either returned or were summoned by Clement to the university: among such was Valeriano, who had gone to Naples in the time of Adrian, and under his successor was made Professor of Eloquence.[1] This circle of scholars was now broken up. Goritz, taken prisoner by his compatriots, purchased his release with hard cash and fled to Verona, where he fell ill and died, ardently longing for Rome.[2] Colocci, twice a prisoner, had seen his houses burnt, his magnificent collections of artistic objects and manu-

Fate of scholars.

[1] Valeriano died in Padua in 1558. Clement VII. appointed Antonio Teleso of Cosenza Professor of Rhetoric. He also summoned the Hellenist Petrus Alcyonius, and Lazzaro Bonamici of Bassano; the latter was brought by Reginald Pole from Bologna to Rome in 1525. He protected Vida and Sannazaro and the young Federigo, Commandino of Urbino, the afterwards celebrated mathematician. The Pope also wished to bring Erasmus to Rome.

[2] Valerianus, *De Litt. infel.*, p. 87. The gold which he had buried had been discovered by Spaniards. Georg Sauromanus, a German poet (a native of Silesia), who had received Roman citizenship for two speeches which he had made on the Emperor Charles, was reduced to begging in the streets. *Ibid.*, and Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 208.

scripts stolen or destroyed, and had returned with lamentations to Jesi.[1] The wealthy advocate Angelo Cesi, father of Cardinal Paolo, one of the most celebrated men in Rome, was ill in bed when the Spaniards, with drawn swords, forced an entrance into his room, and he died a year after of the sufferings he endured. The grammarian Julianus Camers perished by his own hand. Valdus, who after prolonged travels had settled in Rome, where he expounded Pliny, beheld his painstaking writings, a commentary on his author, destroyed for kitchen uses, and died of hunger. The poet Casanova, an adherent of the Colonna family, was seen begging his bread in the streets, until he fell a victim to the pestilence.[2] The poet Paolo Bombasi of Bologna had been killed during the sack. The celebrated Tebaldeo, the friend of Raffaelle, was reduced to such penury that he besought Bembo to give him thirty florins while he lay ill in the Colonna palace. Weary of life, he wished to return to Provence, but nevertheless remained in Rome.[3] Marone, once so brilliant as an improvisatore, robbed, afflicted, and filled with

[1] He returned to Rome in 1528. Tirab., vii., iii. 205.

[2] A friend of Pompeo, he had attacked Clement in satires; he was, in consequence, sentenced to death, but was pardoned. He is buried in S. Lorenzo in Lucina: Jovius, *Elogia.*

[3] *Lett. di Bembo*, *Opp.*, iii. 237: Padua, August 11, 1527. Jovius (*Elog.*, p. 174) says that Tebaldeo, aged and ill, lying in his house in the Corso, refused to behold the triumphal entry of the Emperor on his return from Africa, but ordered his windows to be closed, indignant that Charles had not punished the sack of the city by decimating his army. Tebaldeo's monument stands in S. Maria in Via Lata.

despair at the loss of his poems, had returned from Tivoli to Rome, but had died, deserted by all the world, in a miserable tavern.[1] Francesco Cherea, who had been the favourite comedian of Leo X., fled to Venice, where he founded and perfected the *Commedia dell'arte.* Even the aged stoic Marco Fabio Calvi, who had formerly lived in Raffaelle's house, unable to pay a ransom, had been carried out of Rome by the troops, and died miserably in a hospital.[2] Molza, as it were by miracle, remained an undisturbed spectator of these terrible days. Fortunate were reckoned those who escaped with the loss of their property, their books or MS. Among such were Lazzaro Bonamici, who fled from Rome, never to return; Agacio Guidacerio, professor of Hebrew; the learned Gyraldi, who lost all his books in the sack, and himself escaped to Bologna, while his friend Alcyonius was wounded and died in consequence of his ill-treatment in 1528.[3] Jovius also, who had escaped to S. Angelo,

[1] According to Jovius, *Elogia*, p. 136. *Periit infelix Maro in vili caupona ad Scropham lapideam campi Martii.* The little stone effigy, from which the street takes its name, was already built into the wall. Marone had intended to fly to Capua, but was unable to leave his beloved Rome. He had already been robbed of all he possessed in the sack of 1526.

Nec qui bis captus Maro, bis pretioque redemptus
Moenia nescit adhuc direptae linguere Romae
Dum titulos sperat miser, et spes pascit inanes.

—Gyraldi, *Carm. de dirept. urbis*, *Opp.*, ii. 624.

[2] *De Litterator. infel.*, p. 81.

[3] Introduction to the *Medices Legatus* of Alcyonius in the *Giornale de' Litterati*, iii., Venice, 1710, and *De Litt. inf.*, p. 63. Gyraldi wrote an epistle on the sufferings of himself and his friends in the

had to lament the loss of six books of his history. He had hidden the MS. of the work in a chest in the Minerva, where it was discovered by a Spanish officer called Herrera, who recognised its value, and afterwards restored it to the author in return for a benefice given him by the Pope. The missing books of the first decade the author was unable to make good.

Pierius Valerianus was not present in the city during the sack, but the terrible calamity provided him with material for his well-known work, *Concerning the Misfortunes of the Learned*,[1] which he compiled in the form of a dialogue in 1529. Listening to the laments of the Humanists over the fall of Rome, we might believe ourselves transported back to the times of Jerome, and never did the circumstances of periods so widely severed by time so closely resemble one another as the fall of Rome in 1527 resembled that of 410. In the former

Lamentations of the Humanists over the disaster.

sack, which contains, however, little information: *Opp.*, ii. 622. He therein praises Sadoleto.

> *Unus tu prudens Sadolete pericula tanta*
> *Qui solus misere Italiae impendere videbas*
> *Et procul aufugiens tibi consulis, et tibi Paule.*

He bewails the death of the young Cardinal Rangone. The other celebrated Ferrarese, Gyraldi (Giambattista Cinthio), following Boccaccio's example, made use of the sack as the subject of, and introduction to his Novelle (*Hecatommiti*, Verona, 1608). For the laments raised by contemporary poets on the sack of Rome, see the bibliography in Milanesi.

[1] He represents the dialogue as taking place in Contarini's house, and having been repeated at Mellini's. The interlocutors were Valerianus, Grana, Colocci, Cattaneus, Gianantonio Pollio and Pietro Mellini.

period the city was still half pagan; now, owing to the Renascence, it had reverted to paganism. Then, as now, every religious man recognised that Rome had met with a deserved chastisement; but now, as then, arose the same cry of woe, that glorious Rome, the light of the world, the mother of mankind, had perished.

Sadoleto, Bembo, and on the other side of the Alps, Erasmus, are the leaders of this lament, and their words frequently recall those of S. Jerome. Sadoleto, who had gone to Carpentras shortly before the disaster, thence wrote to Francesco Bini, secretary to Clement VII., on June 18, 1527. He tried to defend the Pope, who had always been just and upright; the corruption of the time and court had drawn upon it the wrath of God, in which the innocent were also involved.[1] He repeated this view in his answer to a letter from Hieronymus Niger.[2] After the loss of all his property and all his writings, this cultured Venetian had fled from Rome to his native city, whence he informed Sadoleto of his fate. He bewailed the scorn of the world, which was now talking of the justice of the punishment, and thus adding to the pain of those whose guilt, perhaps, consisted solely in the fact of having dwelt in Rome, the sink of all vices.[3]

[1] *Epist. Familiar.*, i. 67 (Rome, 1760). He therein laments the loss of his library, which was sunk when he landed in Provence.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ep. 71. Carpentras, July 11, 1527. *Cupisse optim. Pontificem mederi moribus perditis. Sed cum res ferro egeret non malagmate—auxit morbum potius medicina, quam levavit.*

[3] —— *quod Romae h. e. in sentina omnium rerum atrocium et pudendarum deprehensi fuerimus. Ibid.*, i., Ep. 70. Niger, born in

From Carpentras Sadoleto wrote to Bembo on November 3, 1527, vowing to dedicate his life henceforward exclusively to God and the Muses,[1] and Bembo, who years before had retired to Padua, exhorted his friend to bury their common misfortunes in study.[2] Erasmus wrote to Sadoleto from Basle on October 1, 1528. He deplored the fall of Rome, which was more cruel than its fate under the Gauls and Goths. "The terrible occurrence," he says, "has affected all nations, for Rome was not only the fortress of the Christian religion, the instructress of noble minds, but also the mother of all nations. For who is there, no matter where his birthplace, who has not been received into her friendly bosom, caressed and educated? Who, even if he have come from the ends of the earth, appears as a foreigner there? Yea, to how many was not Rome dearer, sweeter, more beneficent than their own fatherland? Or who spent even a short time within Rome, who did not leave her with regret, who did not seize the earliest opportunity to return, or make an opportunity even if none were offered? The fall, in truth, was not that of the city, but of the world!"[3]

Lament of Erasmus.

1492, came as Canon of Padua to Rome under Julius II., and dwelt in the house of Cornaro. He died at Padua in 1557. For his life and letters, see Sadoleto, *Epistolar. App.*

[1] Ep. 75, Ep. 78 to Cardinal Salviati, Carpentras, February 3, 1528.

[2] *Bembi Ep. Famil.*, lib. iii. n. 24. Padua, December 14, 1527.

[3] *Op.*, Ep. 988. All who have lived long in Rome, or who, according to the pretty superstition of foreign visitors, have drunk of the water of Trevi before leaving the city, may decide whether Erasmus, and after him Goethe, experienced and spoke the truth.

Angelo Colocci returned to Rome in 1528, Hieronymus Niger in the spring of the following year. They drew for Sadoleto a melancholy picture of the devastation in the city, where so many beloved friends had perished, and from which so many others had fled to distant lands.[1] In a touching letter to Colocci, Sadoleto indulges in an elegiac retrospect on the past. He reminds him of the meetings of the Academy in the delightful bygone times, in the summer-house of his friend, or in his own on the Quirinal, or in the Circus Maximus and at the Temple of Hercules on the bank of the Tiber. He recalls the modest banquets seasoned with intellect and humour, and sadly invokes the friends who were now either dead or scattered, Casanova, Capella, Vida Beroaldo, Valerianus and Grana, Maddaleno Capo di Ferro and Blosius, Phaedra Inghirami and Camillo Porzio, Bembo and Castiglione, Navagero, the aged Coryx with his gentle wrath, and so many others. Ah! the cruel fate of Rome has put an end to these times and the delights of that blissful life![2]

Lament of Sadoleto.

Sadoleto's letter was the swan's song, the farewell

[1] Niger to Sadoleto, Rome, March 18, 1529, *Sadol. Ep.*, i. 93. Niger met the *Savoinorum Princeps*, a laughing Democritus, who said that the only consolation of the Romans was the sight of their prelates, formerly so haughty, but now in tatters. *Quos quum populus Rom. videt sine grege incedere, multa fame confectos vehi, nihil aliud ex pristina fortuna quam ridiculam superstitionem retinere, oblitus omnium calamitatum suarum solvitur in cachinnos maximos.*

[2] *Sadol. Ep.*, i. 106. Carpentras, 1529.

to the joyous life, not of the Roman Academy alone, but of the humanistic period itself. The spirited Colocci, driven by ardent longing back to Rome, and Blosius Palladius, strove to collect its remains; the Academy again held meetings and excited or humiliated the Romans by speeches recalling the fall of the city.[1] It continued to live still later under Paul III., the pupil of Pomponius Laetus and the companion of Colocci and Sadoleto, but the formidable forces of the counter-reformation, which sobered the Papacy after its giddy fall and deprived it of intellectual vigour, were already at work.[2] Instead of the classic order of free-masons of the

[1] No grander subject could indeed have been found for rhetoricians. We may read the orations of Paulus Manutius and of the Bishop John Staphylaeus (who died in Rome in August 1528) in Schardius, *Script. Rer. German.*, ii. 1860, and in Goldast, *Polit. Imp.*, p. 1020. Poets sang the catastrophe in popular ottava rima: *La Presa di Roma Lamento di Roma*, etc. The best of these poems seems to be that of Celebrino of 1528, where we find:

Hor vive lieto Imperador giocondo
Di haver a questi tempi un tant honor,
Il Gallo prima a tua possanza e reso,
Hor sachegiata hai Roma: el Papa preso.

[2] Pierius Valerianus, *Hexametri*, p. 110:

Vivimus en miserae post saeva incendia Romae,
Totque neces, pestes, exitii omne genus;
Reliquiae immanis Germani, immitis Iberi
Vivimus, et nondum funditus occidimus,
Extinctus siquidem Blosius nunc suscitat aras,
Instauratque tuos docta Minerva choros.

It would appear that Giberti founded another academy, and that owing to Oberto Strozzi the *Accademia dei Vignajuoli* arose about 1530, then that of Virtue (*della virtù*), which was founded by Claudio Tolomei, Molza and Annibale Caro, and whose first patron was Cardinal Ippolito Medici.

Academy, the order of Jesus arose in Rome, and the gloomy Paul IV. fettered the intellectual spirit in the chains of the index and the censorship.[1]

[1] The most important works on the sack of Rome have been reprinted by C. Milanesi, Florence, 1867: *Il Sacco di Roma del* 1527. *Narrazione di contemporanei scelte.* Spanish despatches and reports have been published by Ant. Rodriguez Villa: *Memorias para la Hist. del Asalto y Saqueo de Roma*, Madrid, 1875. To these writings I have added Gumppenberg's. Guicciardini's account has been attributed to his brother Luigi. That which wrongly appeared with the name of Jacopo Buonaparte in 1756 is a later compilation.—The *Mem. storiche* of the Florentine Patrizio de Rossi, Rome, 1837, is pronounced by Ranke to be a fabrication of the editor. It is asserted in *The Chronicle* of May 4, 1867, that although the editors corrected the text, the work was that of a grandson of Francesco Rossi, brother of Cardinal Luigi and Clement VII.'s companion in misfortune. I compared the edition of 1837 with the Barberini MS.; in the latter the author at the very beginning calls this Francesco Rossi his *Bisavolo*, instead of *avolo* as in the printed text. The editors suppressed much that was hostile to the Curia; for instance, the opposition made by the Pope to a Council, the bull for the dissolution of Henry VIII.'s marriage, Clement's inclination *a tornare alle sue astutie*, all of which are in Guicciardini. The second part is re-written by the editors; much has been falsified, the whole re-cast. Rossi's work, up to Part III., seems to have been compiled under Ferdinand I. (1556–64). The author, bitterly censuring the war waged by the Popes for the recovery of the ecclesiastical property, says (MS., p. 512) that this duty belonged instead to the defenders of the church in *quella guisa che oggi è tenuta la Cesarea Maestà di Ferdinando Imp.* From iv. 123 (printed edition) it is evident that this last part cannot have been written before 1574. The contents are chiefly taken from Guicciardini. The MS. designates as author Domenico de Rossi, Patritio Fiorentino. It is a transcript of Saec. xvii., incorrect in names, otherwise good. A transcript in the Buoncampagni Library in Rome belongs to the same time. In general I may further refer to G. Salvioli, *Nuovi stud. sulla politica e le vicende dell' esercito imp. in Italia nel* 1526–27 *e sul sacco di Roma* (*Archiv. Venet.*, xvi.); and to *Il Sacco di Roma* in Cipolla's *Storia delle signorie Italiane dal* 1300 *al* 1530. Milano, 1881.

4. Contarini's Warning to Clement VII.—Attitude taken up by the Pope—His Illness—Victory of the Imperialists at Landriano, June 1529—Peace of Barcelona, June 29—Peace of Cambray, August 5—The Prince of Orange in Rome—Scheme for the Subjugation of Florence—Ippolito Medici—Charles V. lands at Genoa—Orange before Perugia and in Tuscany—Congress at Bologna—Coronation of Charles V., February 24, 1530—He returns to Germany—Diet at Augsburg.

Clement VII. had neither the means nor the time to restore Rome; his mind was entirely centred on the restoration of the State of the Church and the papal authority. The worldly motives, to which were due the moral as well as the political fall of the Papacy, remained in him as strong as ever. Anxiety concerning Florence and other places he had lost deprived him of sleep. In vain Contarini exhorted him for the sake of Ravenna and Cervia—for which Venice paid a yearly tribute—not to let Italy be sacrificed by his permanent desertion of the league for the defence of Italian freedom. The noble Venetian remonstrated, "Ah, your Holiness must not imagine that the welfare of the Church of Christ rests in this little State of the Church; on the contrary, the Church existed before she possessed the State, and was indeed the better Church. The Church is the community of all Christians; the temporal State is only like any other province of Italy, and consequently your

Contarini's warning to Clement VII.

Holiness must above all promote the welfare of the true Church, which consists in the peace of Christendom." The Pope answered, "I know that you speak the truth, and that as a conscientious man I ought to act as you tell me. But I see the world reduced to such conditions that the most cunning is revered as the most worthy of honour; and of him who acts otherwise people say he is a good-natured fellow, but he is worth nothing and so he is left alone. The imperialists will first establish themselves in Naples, then in Lombardy and Tuscany; they will make terms with Florence and Ferrara and with you also; they will make peace with you, leaving you what you have; while I shall remain a good-natured man, but plundered to the last farthing, and unable to recover anything of my own. I repeat, I see perfectly that the way you point out ought to be the right way, otherwise Italy must go under; but I tell you that in this world the idea does not correspond with the reality, and he who acts from amiable motives is nothing but a simpleton." The ambassador spoke as a patriot and a Christian from the highest standpoint; the supreme head of the Church as a practical politician of the narrowest range of vision. From having been false to its spiritual ideal the Papacy found itself involved in an inextricable labyrinth.[1] And as a result the spiritual power saw the necessary

[1] The conversation took place in Rome on January 4, 1529. G. de Leva extracted the passages quoted from Contarini's report to the Senate, according to the *Bibl. Marciana ital. cl.*, vii., Cod. mxliii.

conditions of its existence in the survival of the State of the Church. Guicciardini merely expressed the views of Clement VII. when he said, "Since the world is full of evil, we cannot doubt that if the Pope does not uphold his affairs with arms and the secular power, his spiritual authority must perish as well as the State of the Church."[1]

The still inextricable entanglement of theology in politics demanded the continued existence of this ecclesiastical State, and Clement VII. recognised that he could only save it by forming a close alliance with the emperor. After a devious route through the most terrible disasters, he bowed to the inevitable; he renounced the one great idea of his life, the liberation of Italy, and submitted to the dominion of Spain in his own country. From his crushing overthrow he wished to extract the greatest advantage for the Papacy, the State of the Church, and Medicean government in Florence. The latter, above all, he desired to re-establish. He burned with impatience to be avenged on the Florentines. They had destroyed the coats of arms and the statues of the Medici; they had even threatened to demolish the magnificent palace belonging to the family and to turn the site into a piazza for "mules," in derision of the three bastards, the Pope and his nephews Alessandro and Ippolito. None of Charles V.'s promises had such weight with Clement as the

Clement VII. makes himself subject to the Emperor.

[1] *Chi dubita che se uno pontefice non ajutassi le cose sue con ogni spezie d'armi o di potenza, che sarebbe annichilato non manco nello spirituale che nell temporale? Op. Inedite*, i. *Discorsi politici*, p. 389.

promise of restoring the Medici to Florence. The emperor, on his side, had need of the Pope not only to dissolve the league of the powers and to preserve Italy, but also to maintain possession of the empire, which the principle of the Reformation threatened to rend asunder. The Empire was a Catholic institution; the Church held together its feudal organisation; and had the Church fallen, the Empire would probably have broken up into territorial monarchies.

The emperor, moreover, was purposely cautious. With icy coldness he let the Pope feel that his existence depended on the imperial favour. He took scarcely any measures to alleviate the distress in Rome, where a rubbio of corn was sold for twenty ducats. True that Cardinal Quiñonez had arrived from Spain; but he brought nothing but words and referred the Pope to Prince Philibert.[1] Ostia and Civita-vecchia were still occupied by the imperialists. Owing to the sufferings and excitement he had undergone, Clement fell seriously ill on January 6, 1529, and his illness produced such consternation in Rome, that dreading the return of the landsknechts and the ruin of the city, many contemplated flight. The Pope recovered and was now ready to conclude peace with the emperor. In return for a sum of money he recovered Ostia and Civita-vecchia on March 7, and obtained the release of Cardinals Pisani,

Illness of Clement VII.

[1] On January 5 the imperial envoy, Micer May, arrived and alighted without pomp at the Colonna palace: Despatch of Franc. Gonzaga, Rome, January 7, 1529.

Gaddi, and Trivulzio, who had been prisoners in Naples. And when the victory of Leyva over S. Pol at Landriano on June 21, 1529, annihilated the French army and made Charles master of Lombardy, no choice remained to the powers of the league but to make peace.

Peace of Barcelona, June 29, 1529.

On June 29, through their plenipotentiaries Gattinara and Girolamo Schio Bishop of Vaison, Castiglione's successor in the nunciature, the Pope and emperor concluded peace at Barcelona. Broken down by the misery of his country and bitterly wounded by the accusations of the Pope, who reproached him for not having averted the calamities of Rome, the celebrated Castiglione died in Madrid on February 2, 1529. By the terms of peace Charles promised to allow Sforza to return as Duke to Milan, to restore the State of the Church to the Pope, to induce the Venetians to surrender Ravenna and Cervia, and Alfonso to surrender Modena and Reggio; to reinstate the Medici in Florence by force of arms, and as soon as she was grown up to give his natural daughter Margaret in marriage to Alessandro Medici, whom he had made Duke of Penna in the Abruzzi in 1522. Finally, in accordance with the Edict of Worms, he undertook to suppress the German Reformation with all his might. As soon as possible he was to journey to Italy to receive the imperial crown.[1]

[1] Dumont, iv., ii. n. 1. A document compiled in the grand imperial style. The two luminaries of the Christian Republic are still spoken of; Italy is said to be *fere ad ruinam, et extremum exitium, et interitum redacta.*

At the same time the representatives of the powers assembled at Cambray in a Congress of peace under the presidency of the emperor's aunt, Donna Margarita, and the Queen-mother Louise. The Pope sent Schomberg; the King of England, the Duke of Suffolk and the Bishop of London. The Venetians, to whom Francis had sent Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, with the assurance that he would continue the war, were furious, and vainly strove to prevent peace. The conclusion of the treaty of Barcelona hastened that of Cambray, which was solemnly proclaimed on August 5. Francis I. in consequence received back his captive sons, in return for a sum of two million ducats; he pledged himself to surrender all such places as still belonged to him in Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples, and also to compel the Venetians to restore the cities of Apulia, still occupied by his troops. He promised to quash the suit against the Constable, and to restore to his heirs the honours and estates of the dead. He renounced all his claims on Italy, as well as on Flanders and Artois. In this "Peace of ladies" at Cambray, Venice, Florence and Ferrara, the allies of France, were not taken into account, but were left by King Francis to their fate.[1] It was indeed a triumph for the emperor to acquire two such treaties of peace at one and the same time! Holding these in his hands he stood the ruler of Europe. The majestic language of these documents breathes the consciousness of all-embracing power; the Ghibelline

Peace of Cambray, Aug. 5, 1529.

[1] Dumont, *ut supra*, n. 2.

dream of the imperial monarchy seems to approach realisation. This was the Renascence of Caesarism based on the possession of half the world.

In accordance with the treaty of Barcelona, Philibert of Orange, the viceroy of Naples, was to restore the Medici in Florence. And the restoration was in harmony with the emperor's system. Had the Florentines renounced the French alliance at the right moment and thrown themselves into his arms, he would have defended their constitution against the Medici, and only have permitted the family to hold a subordinate position. He determined to keep Florence, over which the empire possessed ancient rights, in his hand. In time the whole of Tuscany might become an imperial fief. He was also determined to prevent the Pope from making any treaty with the Florentines, as Clement ardently desired to do. For what humiliation could be greater for the Pope than that the same imperial troops, which had just sacked Rome, and at whose hands he had suffered such terrible usage, should effect the subjugation of his ancestral city? The ill-treatment had been received in the struggle for a great cause; to the humiliation he subjected himself in his own petty egoism. Orange, who in January had been presented by the Pope with the consecrated hat and sword, after having sacked and burnt Aquila, came thence on Clement's invitation to Rome with 600 cavalry and bowmen on July 31, 1529. It was intended that he should make his abode in the Villa Madama, but he went instead to the Palazzo Salviati in the

The Prince of Orange in Rome.

Borgo.[1] The Pope, to whom the emperor had sent De Praet in order to obtain ratification of the peace of Cambray, was still ailing; he received the pillager of Rome in the Vatican with distinguished honours. The plan of the campaign against Florence was discussed, as also the sums of money to be paid, and the Prince was even more astonished by the avarice of the Pope than by his pitiable position. Only with contempt could he regard the Court, where he encountered nothing but hypocrisy, revenge, and insatiable thirst for temporal power.

The place of subjugating Florence is decided on in Rome.

De Praet even found the greater number of the cardinals on the emperor's side, but all alike venal.[2] Orange offered to march forthwith to Florence, the conquest of which he represented as easy, and Clement was hypocritical enough to pretend to shrink from the idea. "Do you believe," he asked the imperial envoy, "that I will ruin my own native city? Shall I commit an act of infamy and offence against God, and leave behind me the reputation of being guilty first of the sack of Rome and then that of Florence, my ancestral city?"[3] Orange was ambitious, and was moreover allured by the delusive hope of obtaining the

[1] Varchi, *Storia Fior.*, ix. 246. Del Vasto and Ferrante Gonzaga also came with him: Bernardo Segni, *Storia Fior.* (Augsburg, 1723), p. 77. The devastation of the villa by Pompeo cannot have been very severe.

[2] See his report in Lanz, *Corresp.*, i. 318. Sanga and Salviati ruled the Pope at this time.

[3] Contarini's despatch of August 6, 1529; he thereupon announces the conclusion of the treaty with Orange for the subjugation of Florence, and says: *si che vedano S. S^ta. quanto diversamente si opera da quel che si dice cum la bocca.*

hand of Catherine Medici, who was then held as hostage by the Florentines. The Pope with difficulty raised 30,000 ducats; other sums were to follow. Lorenzo Pucci gave 18,000.[1] Clement promised artillery from S. Angelo and troops, which he himself would pay. Nothing was seen in Rome but recruits and drummers gathering round the banners. Camillo, Marzio, Pirro and Sciarra Colonna accepted service under Philibert, who left Rome on August 17.[2] The Spaniards revelled in the thought of a second sack, that of the city of Florence. Of Frundsberg's lands-knechts 3000 still remained; to these were added 4000 Italians under Pierluigi Farnese and the Count of S. Secondo. Del Vasto was to lead a few thousand Spaniards from Apulia.[3] With this army Philibert set forth from Aquila in August 1529, in order first to drive Malatesta Baglione from Perugia, and then to advance against Florence. He was accompanied by Girolamo Morone as commissary, who next to Muscettola was the moving spirit of the enterprise.

The Prince of Orange departs for Florence, Aug. 1529.

Charles meanwhile had sailed with Doria's fleet from Barcelona on July 27. In accordance with Leyva's advice he decided to land at Genoa, and

[1] The agreement made with Philibert was that the Pope should pay 80,000 scudi forthwith; 50,000 after the subjugation of Florence, and finally should raise 150,000 by taxes levied on the city. *Lettere del Busini al Varchi*, p. 65.—The aged Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci died in Rome on September 18, 1531. He is buried in the Minerva, in the chapel of the Medicean popes.

[2] Despatch of Francesco Gonzago of this date.

[3] Guicciardini, xix. 366.

proceed thence to Bologna, where he was to meet the Pope, to adjust the affairs of Italy and lastly to be crowned emperor. His friends looked with distrust on his sojourn in enslaved Italy. Margaret, governess of the Netherlands, warned him of the poison of the Italians and the artifices of the Pope.[1] Clement sent to greet him Alessandro, the future son-in-law of the emperor, and Ippolito, son of Julian. Alessandro supplanted his cousin in the Pope's favour; he was even believed to be Clement's own son. His mother had been an African slave; and from her he had inherited the voluptuous nature, the colouring and features of the mulatto. Ippolito had been originally chosen as heir to Medicean rule; but Clement afterwards changed his mind, and during his illness suddenly created the youth a cardinal on January 10, 1529. The boyish Medici, eighteen years of age, handsome and highly cultured, despised the priestly vestments, as Caesar Borgia and Pompeo Colonna had done. He longed to become ruler of Florence and husband of Catherine. He never forgave the preference awarded to his uncouth cousin, and it was merely accident that prevented him from compassing Alessandro's murder, as Caesar Borgia had compassed Juan's.

Cardinals Farnese and Quiñonez also went to Genoa. The wild Abbot of Farfa seized the latter near Bracciano; the Florentines had taken the Abbot into their pay, and had sent him money which had been intercepted by the Pope.

[1] In Lanz, *Corresp.*, i. 341.

The Orsini consequently captured the Cardinal, and Clement was obliged to surrender this money before Quiñonez was allowed to proceed.

Charles V. lands at Genoa, Aug. 12, 1529.

On August 12 Charles V. landed at Genoa with a brilliant retinue of Spanish grandees. Cold and calm, conscious of his greatness and displaying none of the pomp of insecure sovereigns, he entered the unhappy country, which received him without resistance as the arbiter of her fate. He stood at the zenith of his power. He had shattered to pieces the ancient European world, and, like Charles the Great, seemed to desire to give it a new system. For the formidable power of Charles V. did not lie in his illimitable empire, but in the collapse of all European relations which this empire had produced. France, the Papacy, Italy, all the Guelf powers, before which the Hohenstaufens had formerly succumbed, had been overthrown and enfettered by Charles. Of the Latin half of Europe, he, the German emperor, possessed the greater part. The heart of the Latin world, Rome and the Papacy, he held in his hand. More deeply than any emperor before him he had humiliated the Papacy; he had deposed the Pope from his European position, had hurled him from his Italian throne, and had forcibly shattered his alliance with France, the original protectress of the Guelf principles. He had thus made himself the ally of the German Reformation, which destroyed the Papacy ecclesiastically, as the emperor destroyed it politically. The new system which appeared in Europe with Charles V. was the absolute monarchy.

All-commanding position of the Emperor.

The feudal as well as the civic autonomies were shattered. In Germany the Reformation, in Italy the Spanish despotism contributed to their fall. The liberty of Italy with its Guelf civic constitutions had for ever perished. It seemed as if one single hand had thrown the brand of destruction into those splendid cities, whose time had passed away. This was shown by the terrible fate of Rome, the no less cruel fate of Milan, not to speak of other cities such as Lodi, Pavia, Cremona, Genoa and Naples; and the turn of Florence was soon to follow.[1]

Great was the consternation there when the news arrived of the peace of Cambray and of Charles's landing. Since France had betrayed its Italian ally, all Italy's hopes centred on Venice; for this republic, to which the Duke of Ferrara also clung, continued the war in Lombardy under its general the Duke of Urbino. But the last struggle of the Italians for independence was a hopeless one. Francis I., who had abandoned the Florentines, in secret exhorted them as well as the Venetians to resistance. They resolved, however, since the party

[1] *Sono fati delle Città*, writes Guicciardini to his brother, Bologna, December 4, 1529, *Op. ined.*, ix. 140. The fate of the cities was lamented in some popular verses in ottava rima: *Opera nova del stato de Milano: e sacco de Genova: el Stracio de Pavia, e de Rimino: e destructione de Roma.* Pamphlet, printed before 1530 (Library of the Archiginnasio of Bologna). It contains the lines:

Ahi poverell' Italia afflitta e mesta
Del mondo già giardin capo e regina
A te di pianger lice essendo infesta
A ciascun barbar che con te confina—

of the optimates had acquired supremacy, to send envoys to the emperor, to whom the ambassadors of the rulers and states of Italy hastened at Genoa. This belated step was a mistake, resembling, as it did, a breach of the alliance with Venice. Duke Alfonso immediately forbade his son Ercole to undertake the supreme command in Florence, which he had accepted.[1] Niccolo Capponi, Matteo Strozzi, Raffaello Girolami and Tommaso Soderini went to Genoa.[2] They apologised for the alliance of their city with France, promised obedience to the emperor, implored him to protect the liberty of the republic and forbear to sacrifice it to the vengeance of the Medici. Charles dismissed the envoys ungraciously; his chancellor Gattinara (whom Clement had made a cardinal the day after Charles's arrival) gave them the comfortless answer that Florence had forfeited her liberty and must come to terms with the Pope.

Florence sends ambassadors to the Emperor.

Orange had already passed Foligno and seized Spello.[3] He held negotiations here with Malatesta Baglione, who was in Florentine pay. On September 10 Baglione formed a compact with him, by which he surrendered Perugia to the Church and was himself to proceed to Florence. The republic was obliged to give its sanction to this treaty, and thus in Perugia fell a bulwark that might have averted the enemy, while Malatesta remained hence-

Malatesta Baglione surrenders Perugia to the Prince of Orange.

[1] See Busini's comments, *ut supra*, pp. 67, 93.

[2] The instructions to these envoys are given by Desjardins, ii. 1119. Their despatches in Rastretti, *Vita di Alessandro de' Medici*, T. i.

[3] Juan d'Orbina, one of the pillagers of Rome, fell here.

forward entangled in the diplomatic wiles of the Pope. Cortona and Arezzo surrendered, and at the end of September Philibert advanced into the Val d'Arno as far as Montevarchi. His own mother wrote begging him to abandon the godless war which threatened his destruction. An adherent of the Reformation, he hated the Roman priesthood; despised the weakness, the hypocrisy, the avarice of the Pope. To the Florentine ambassadors, who implored him not to attack their city, he excused himself by alleging the emperor's command. Clement himself, continuing his negotiations, received the envoys of the city with the insincere assurance that he only wished to re-establish his honour and would not destroy the liberty of the republic.[1]

The Pope goes to Bologna.

Meanwhile on October 7 the Pope left Rome and journeyed by Foligno, Gualdo and Rimini to Bologna, whither the emperor had arrived by way of Parma on August 30. He was met here by the French ambassador, Philippe Chabot, Admiral de Brion, who came surrounded with such ostentatious splendour as to cast the imperial court into the shade.[2] On their respective journeys, Clement as well as Charles could survey the cruel devastation of the country, and the misery of the formerly prosperous towns, whose inhabitants now stood weeping and begging in the principal streets, to receive with silent curses Caesar or Pope. Lombardy resembled a desert; the English envoys journeying to Bologna found no

[1] Guicciardini, xix. 326.

[2] *Maneggio della Pace di Bologna*, in Albéri, II., vol. iii. p. 157.

labourers in the fields between Vercelli and Pavia; in large villages scarcely five or six miserable creatures remained; in formerly flourishing cities the inhabitants were crying for bread, the children dying of hunger.[1]

Charles V. received by the Pope in Bologna, Nov. 5, 1529.

As early as October 24 the Pope with sixteen cardinals arrived at Bologna, and Charles made his entry from the Certosa on November 5. For miles along the route he was awaited by the citizens, by cardinals, and the envoys of the Italian nobles. Accompanied by knights, grandees and thousands of mail-clad soldiers, mounted on an Andalusian charger, he rode under a gold baldacchino, which was borne by fourteen noble Bolognese.[2] The cavalcade advanced through the festal city to S. Petronio, where it was awaited by the Pope. After unparalleled calamities the two heads of Christendom met for the first time, each with sufficient cause for recriminating the other. As in former days Barbarossa knelt in the cathedral of Venice before the great Alexander III., so Charles V. knelt in reverence before the miserable Clement VII., the secular majesty bowing before the spiritual power it had conquered. He kissed the Pope's foot and hand, the Spanish grandees probably looking with smiles on this traditional act of homage; for was

[1] "It is, Sir, the moost pitie to see this contree, as we suppose, that ever was in Christyndom": Nic. Carew and Sampson to King Henry VIII., Bologna, December 12, 1529. *State Papers VII. King H. VIII.*, v. 226.

[2] In a room adjoining the Uffizi in Florence may be seen a remarkable wood-cut by an unknown Venetian, representing Charles's entry.

not this the dishonoured Pope, the prisoner of S. Angelo?[1]

Congress at Bologna.

The former enemies, now allies, inhabited for months the same palace in the city. Around them assembled a congress of Italian princes and diplomatists, as well as of foreign envoys, while the city of the Bentivogli was thronged with brilliant men and women and all the celebrities of Italy. All differences were now to be adjusted and a new order of things introduced into the peninsula. The ailing Francesco Sforza, Federigo Gonzaga, Francesco Maria all appeared. Ambassadors also arrived from Florence. Venice, too, the last independent state of Italy, now made up her mind to the inevitable; nothing remained which gave her any hope of curbing the emperor's power. The Turks who might have succeeded in this object had just been defeated before the walls of heroic Vienna on September 29. Contarini, who accompanied the Pope, had been entrusted by his government with power to make peace, but the demand for the restitution of the towns of Ravenna and Cervia rendered the negotiations difficult. The republic however finally professed itself willing to surrender these places to the Church, and the Apulian seaports to the emperor, and in addition to pay a large sum of money. Sforza received an amnesty

[1] Charles said in Spanish: *Padre sancto, soy venido a basar los pijes de V. S., lo que es mucho tempo lo descava, ayora lo compido co l'obra; suplico a Dios que sea en su servicio y de V. S.* Letter of Isabella of Este to Rene Duchess of Ferrara, Bologna, November 5, 1529. *Archiv. Stor.*, App., ii. 320. The Emperor, in accordance with the ritual, handed the Pope a purse filled with gold pieces.

and the investiture of Milan as imperial vassal in return for a huge tribute, but it was entirely to the intercession of the Venetians that he owed his good fortune. The Venetians also obtained the ratification of their general the Duke of Urbino in all his estates.[1] Florence on the contrary was to be subjugated to the Medici by force of arms. The negotiations with Ferrara remained uncertain, since the Pope abode by those demands which had so largely contributed to his misfortunes. He hated Alfonso more than any other prince, for to him mainly he ascribed the calamities that had overtaken Rome. To please the Pope, the emperor had at first refused to receive the envoys of the Duke, but on his way to Bologna Alfonso had managed to meet and salute him at Reggio and Modena, and had astutely succeeded in gaining his confidence. The emperor recognised that it might be useful to place a limit to the Pope's exaggerated demands with regard to these cities.

Permanent league concluded at Bologna, Dec. 23, 1529.

These decisions having been taken, a perpetual league was concluded on December 23, 1529, between the Pope and the Emperor, the King of Hungary, Venice, Sforza, Mantua, Savoy and Montferrat. As soon as the universal peace was secured, the European crusade was to be undertaken against the Sultan. At a diet summoned at Augsburg for April 8, 1530, the emperor was to carry into effect the Edict of Worms. He demanded the

[1] Francesco Maria always remained in the service of Venice. He died at Pesaro, only 48 years old, on October 20, 1538. He was succeeded by his son Guidobaldo II.

Council; the Pope evaded it. Like Francis I., Clement was now to discover that the tranquillisation of the German schism would redound to his own disadvantage, since the only resistance to the formidable power of the emperor lay in the Lutheran party. If Charles extinguished this conflagration within his dominions, then was there no limit to his power. Then might he take in hand the reformation of the Church in a Council, and prescribe a new form to the Papacy.

Peace of Bologna, Jan. 1, 1530.

On January 1, 1530, peace was solemnly proclaimed in the cathedral of S. Petronio. This congress and this peace sealed the political death-warrant of Italy. The imperial coronation now followed. It had originally been intended that the solemnity should take place in Rome, and already arrangements to this end had been made, although the sacked city and the desecrated church of S. Peter's would have formed the most melancholy background for the great act. Time pressed, however. Charles wished to receive the crown without delay, and then to journey to the Diet. Without the imperial coronation it would be impossible to carry out his intention of having his brother Ferdinand proclaimed King of the Romans. In accordance with his advice, Bologna was chosen, and this in itself was a humiliation for the Pope, a deposition of Rome from her ancient right.[1] The

[1] Pallavicini, *Storia del Conc. di Trento*, iii. c. 2, even speaks of the coronation at Bologna as "improvised." By a bull (Bologna, February 24, 1530) Clement formally pronounced the validity of the coronation in this city. *Bullar. Vat.*, ii. 402.

last German emperor, who took the crown of Charles the Great from the hands of a pope, received it in the Cathedral of S. Petronio. Two days before, on February 22, in the chapel of the Palazzo Municipale he had been crowned with the Iron Crown of the Lombards, which he had sent for from Monza; on February 24, the day of his lucky star — his birthday and the anniversary of the victory of Pavia — Clement crowned him with the golden crown of Empire.[1] This solemnity bore a Latin, and essentially Spanish character. Spanish grandees, Astorga, Ponce de Leon, Manriquez de Aguilar, Pedro de Toledo, Mendoza, Herrera, Guzman and Italian princes surrounded the emperor, while Leyva's veterans occupied the Piazza of S. Petronio. For the first time in the history of the German empire the imperial coronation took place without the participation of the German states: and they, who had not even been invited to it, protested, as a mere form, against all acts promulgated without their adhesion in regard to the imperial territories in Italy. Of princes of the empire the Count Palatine Philip, who carried the orb, was alone present. The

Coronation of Charles V. as Emperor in Bologna, Feb. 24, 1530.

[1] A pamphlet was published at Bologna in 1530 entitled: "*Kaiserlich Majestät Krönung geschehen in Bononia auff den Vier und zwanzigsten tag Februarii. An S. Mathis tag.*" All the information relating to this coronation has been gathered together by Gaetano Giordani in his compilation: *Della venuta e dimora in Bologna del S. Pont. Clem. VII. per la coronazione di Carlo V. Imp. celebrata l'Anno MDXXX. Cronaca con note documenti et incisioni*, Bologna, 1832.—In the Palazzo Ridolfi at Verona may be seen the excellent fresco of Domenico Ricci (known as *la gran Cavalcata*), depicting the Emperor and Pope riding together in the coronation procession.

sceptre was borne by the Marchese Bonifazio of Montferrat; the sword by the Duke of Urbino, as Prefect of the city; the crown of Empire by Charles III. of Savoy; the banner of Rome by the magnificent Giuliano Cesarini as Gonfaloniere of the Roman people.[1] The emperor walked between the cardinals Salviati and Ridolfi from the palace to the platform of the steps to the Cathedral, along a stage covered with purple, which collapsed after he had passed. A wooden chapel representing S. Maria in Turri in Rome, had been erected on the steps; here Charles was created a canon of S. Peter's. Other chapels in the Cathedral took the place of the Roman chapels of S. Gregorio and S. Maurizio. For even in 1530 the ancient ritual of imperial coronation was rigidly observed; the emperor still tendered the customary oath as Defender of the Church and all its temporal rights.[2] So obstinately did the tradition of papal grandeur linger that, the coronation ceremony over, Charles V. even held the stirrup of Clement VII. Emperor and Pope then rode side by side in procession under

[1] The office of Gonfalonier of Rome was made hereditary in the house of Cesarini by a bull of May 23, 1530. The last heiress of the house, Livia (who died in 1712), was wife of Federigo Sforza of S. Fiore; hence the Sforza-Cesarini.

[2] *Ego Carolus Rex Romanor., adjuvante Domino futurus Imp. promitto, spondeo et polliceor, atque juro Deo et B. Petro, me de caetero protectorem, et defensorem fore summi Pont. et S. R. Eccl. in omnib. necessitatib. et utilitatib. suis, custodiendo et conservando possessiones, honores et jura ejus, quantum divino fultus adjutorio fuero secundum scire et posse meum, et haec sancta Dei evangelia.* Raynald, n. xviii.

a baldacchino through a part of the gorgeously decorated city.[1]

The darkest night of Italy's suffering, the desolation left by the sack of Rome, the degradation of Milan, the death of Florence, and a hundred destroyed and depopulated cities, served as a foil to the imperial coronation of Charles V., the mightiest of the emperors who had filled the throne since the days of Charles the Great. It was only with suspicion and dread that the world could look on the two chief actors in the pompous scene. For here the power of the Caesars was crowned by the spiritual despotism, its defeated ally. The two powers renewed the mediaeval alliance, and were agreed in their common aims: to subjugate and to rule. Germany might veil the banner of freedom of thought, which she had raised, for well she knew that the emperor would lend his iron arm to the spiritual tyranny of Rome, and Italy, the most unfortunate of nations, lay at the feet of Caesar, wounded to death, sacked and naked, as though she were enslaved America. The Pope, in placing the crown of empire on the head of Charles V., may have told himself that he now crowned that which he had fought against all his life, the dominion of Spain over Italy.

Clement would not have tolerated Alfonso's presence at the coronation; but the emperor

[1] Giannone, xxxi. c. 6, contradicts Guicciardini's assertion that the expenses of the coronation were shabby, by the statement, that from Naples alone the Prince of Salerno had remitted 300,000 ducats to the Emperor.

Treaty with Alfonso of Ferrara.

insisted on the conclusion of a treaty with the Duke. He came on March 7, and on the 21st an understanding was arrived at—viz., that Alfonso would surrender Modena and Reggio to the emperor, until an impartial judgment had been pronounced concerning the imperial rights to the possession of these cities. Soon after he received the long coveted investiture of Carpi, for which he paid 100,000 ducats to the emperor. The Pii thus lost possession of that beautiful country, which they had held for more than two hundred years. Several monuments at Carpi, stately churches and the magnificent castle on the principal piazza with its arcades, still recall the ancient family, more especially Alberto Pio, the friend of Aldus.

Charles V. leaves Bologna, March 22, 1530.

On March 22, 1530, Charles left Bologna for Germany, and scarcely ever had a German emperor returned from Italy so crowned with glory or invested with greater power and majesty. From Castelfranco on March 24 he issued a diploma to the Knights of Rhodes, investing them in perpetuity with the island of Malta.[1] Federigo Gonzaga gave the emperor a magnificent reception in his splendid palace in Mantua, and here Charles's surprise may well have been aroused by the wealth and artistic feeling displayed by the petty Italian dynasts, who were capable of creating such dwellings.

Mantua made a dukedom.

On March 25 he made Gonzaga a duke, and then continued his journey to Innsbruck, accompanied by the Cardinal legate Campeggi, who urged him ruthlessly to extirpate the Lutheran heresy by fire

[1] Diploma in Bosio, ii. lib. v. p. 60.

and sword. While in Bologna the emperor had urgently requested a Council; the Pope however tried to evade it, and the Diet soon showed him that the Reformation was to be overcome neither by edicts, nor yet by fire and sword.

In Augsburg, which Charles entered on June 15, the Lutheran states handed him first their Confession on June 25, and then their protest against the decree of the Diet, which, in conformity with the Edict of Worms, ordered the extirpation of the new teaching. The revived alliance between the Papacy and the Empire effected nothing further against the spirit of religious freedom. Although its progress was continued amid long and weary struggles, struggles which broke up the German empire, the Reformation remained victorious in German territory; and while it shattered for ever the ancient papal authority of Hildebrand and Innocent III., it delivered Europe from the Caesarean despotism, with which after his victories in the West she was threatened by Charles V.

The Augsburg Confession, June 25, 1530.

5. The Pope's Return to Rome—Fall of Wolsey—War concerning Florence—Battle of Gavinana, August 3, 1530—Deaths of Orange and Ferrucci—Extinction of Florentine Liberty — Inundation of the Tiber, October 1530—Alessandro Medici, Regent and afterwards Duke of Florence—Second Congress in Bologna, December 1532—New Italian League—Clement evades the Council—Congress in Marseilles—Marriage of Catherine Medici and Henry of Orleans—Return of the Pope to Rome, December 1533—His Illness — His Farewell Letter to Charles V.—His Death, September 25, 1534—Close of the History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages.

Clement left Bologna in ill-humour on March 31, 1530, and returned to Rome on April 9.[1] After having experienced the most astounding changes of fortune within a brief space of time, he found himself once more amid the ruins of the city, ruler of the State of the Church. But this restoration, which he owed to the favour of the emperor, only slightly soothed the pain produced by the consciousness, that the great period of the all-ruling Papacy had for ever passed away, and that never again could it shake off the fetters of the dominant power in Europe. The Reformation was victorious in Germany as in Switzerland, and the divorce of Henry VIII. threatened to sever England also

[1] *Senza danari, e senza riputazione si parti tutto mal contento*: Varchi, lib. xi. 374.

from the Papacy. Already in July 1529 the Pope had brought the suit before the Roman tribunal as the emperor had requested. On November 30 of the same year Wolsey died soon after his disgrace. The powerful cardinal fell because he had been unable to procure the dissolution of the King's marriage, and with him fell his political programme, based on the alliance between the Pope, England and France against Charles V.

Fall and death of Wolsey, Nov. 1529.

Instead of profiting by the interval which he had purchased by the peace with the emperor to fulfil his highest duty as supreme head of the Church, and to stifle the flames which had broken out within her, Clement VII. only strove to evade this duty and to avert the Council of reform which the emperor continued to demand.[1] His most pressing concern was the subjugation of his native city, and this he carried out with a cold-blooded cruelty that is truly appalling.

The death struggles of the republic throw a more sinister shadow over the ungrateful Papacy and especially over Clement than that produced by the fall of Rome itself. The terms of peace of Cambray and Bologna had abandoned the republic to her own feeble resources. Condemned like a heretic by the Pope, she was surrendered to the secular arm of the emperor, who gave the first proof of his loyalty to the alliance by acting as executioner in Clement's service. Florence, the last representative of the national freedom of Italy, fought both potentates

[1] See the conditions proposed by Clement, and his anxiety in his letter to Charles. Rome, July 31, 1530, *Lettere di Princ.*, ii. 197.

with heroic courage, and her overthrow sealed the political ruin of the country.

Florence courageously prepares for defence.

After the fall of the Gonfaloniere Capponi, and his death on October 18, 1529, there remained no longer any statesman of insight and energy. The talents of the Strozzi, Soderini, Carducci, Alemanni and Vettori were insufficient to reconcile the parties, to control the intrigues of the Medici, or to save the state. In the republican army, formed mainly of a few citizens unused to warfare and of untrustworthy mercenaries, one Florentine fired with antique patriotism, Francesco Ferrucci, is alone conspicuous. The greater number of the officers were foreigners, among them several Romans, such as Mario and Giampolo Orsini, the son of Renzo of Ceri, Giulio Santa Croce, Stefano Colonna, and for a time even the Abbot of Farfa, until, won back by the Pope, he returned to Bracciano.[1] The foremost general was that Malatesta Baglione, in whom the Florentines reposed confidence, simply because his father had been executed by order of Leo X. He soon proved a traitor; for already, through the treaty of Perugia, we saw him in the power of the Pope.

Orange lays siege to Florence, Oct. 1529.

On October 24, 1529, Orange opened fire on S. Miniato, the fortifications of which had been skilfully designed by Michael Angelo. In consequence of the peace with Venice, the besieging army was strengthened by several thousand

[1] This Orsini, one of the most vigorous Italian characters of his time, was treacherously murdered by his half-brother Girolamo, near Rome, in 1533.

Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, under Felix of Werdenberg, and the fate of the city was now decided. In a transient return of religious enthusiasm, Florence, in her distress, had appointed Christ her standard bearer. Fra Benedetto da Fojano fired the people by his discourses, as Savonarola had done in former days. The republic in desperation defended itself for months. All the villas, which lay like a wreath of joyous life round the beautiful city, had been laid waste by the Florentines themselves. They had, moreover, to lament the ruin of many more distant places, which were burnt by the enemy, the Pope impassively looking on. The endurance of Florence and the deliberation of Philibert drove Clement to despair, and filled him with suspicion of the emperor, France and Venice, while the costly war exposed him to the hatred of the world. It was with difficulty that Pucci, Salviati and others raised supplies. Clement found himself in the position of Leo X. during Leo's war with Urbino. He, too, contemplated raising funds by a wholesale creation of cardinals.[1] Grammont, the French envoy in Rome, dissuaded him, and in the name of humanity admonished him to spare his native city. The wretched Pope replied with a sigh, "O, that Florence had never

[1] Reissner says: "In Rome the Pope would have himself thought so poor that he cannot pay the two months' wages of the small body of troops in Rome—but at his own expense he hath laid siege to Florence, his native city—for an entire year."—According to the estimate of Soriano, the Venetian orator, Clement spent 1,900,000 gold florins on this war.

existed!"[1] On June 8, 1530, he gave the cardinal's hat to the French statesman, after having previously bestowed the same dignity on the chancellor Du Prat, in order to acquire his goodwill and that of King Francis.

Spaniards, German landsknechts, bands of Calabrese under Maramoldo, and other rabble collected by the Pope from the Romagna under Ramazotto, covered the Florentine territory and surrounded the city, where hunger and pestilence reigned.[2] The fall of Volterra, which surrendered to Alessandro Vitelli, was avenged by Ferrucci in the harsh punishment he inflicted on the Etruscan city, which he reconquered and valiantly defended; but the important town of Empoli was lost, and Malatesta secretly frustrated the measures for the relief of Florence. In the battle of Gavinana, on August 3, Ferruccio fell in an attempt to relieve the city, and the Prince of Orange was also killed by a shot from an arquebus. The same avenging hand of fate which had struck Bourbon before besieged Rome, and Moncada before besieged Naples, now fell on Orange in sight of besieged Florence. It had fallen too on Girolamo Morone, who died of illness at S. Cassiano near Florence on December 15, 1529.[3] Philibert, a fair handsome

Battle of Gavinana, Aug. 3, 1530.

[1] G. de Leva, ii. 633.

[2] A barrel of wine rose to 10 scudi, oil to 20. The flesh of asses cost 3 carlini a pound; a mouse 13 soldi; cats and horses had all come to an end in June. *Lettere alla reppublica di Venezia del Cav. Carlo Capello*, Orator in Florence during the siege in Albéri, S. II. vol. i. 306.

[3] *Non jam obscure hominibus Dei magni ultoris vim agnoscentibus*,

man with blue eyes, intrepid and ambitious of great deeds, was not thirty years of age. It is said that he had hoped to become Duke of Florence, and to win the hand of the much wooed Catherine Medici, who—still a child—was detained as hostage by the Florentines during the entire siege.[1] The body of the celebrated prince, naked, and hanging across a wretched mule, was carried from the battle-field (it was that of Cataline at the foot of the Apennines) to Pistoja, precisely as the remains of Caesar Borgia had been removed from the field of Viana.

Death of Philibert of Orange.

Florence, a prey to hunger and pestilence, torn asunder by factions, ensnared in the wiles of Malatesta's treachery, was now forced to capitulate. On August 12, 1530, a treaty was concluded with Don Ferrante Gonzaga, Philibert's successor in command, and with the papal commissary Bartolommeo Valori. The city undertook to purchase the withdrawal of the imperial army with a sum of 80,000 gold florins, and to leave it to the emperor within four months to decide on its future form of

postquam nefarii belli praecipuos Duces Borbonium, Moncatam, et ipsum Aurantium, tribus fulminibus vindicata impietate sustulisset. Jovius, *Elogior.*, vi. 300. Of the pillagers of Rome but few ever saw their native country again; among them, however, was Schertlin, who, after having taken part in the Neapolitan war, fell ill of pestilence, escaped in the disguise of a merchant to Venice, and reached Schorndorf in May 1529. He brought with him as booty 15,000 florins and good clothes and precious stones. "Praised be the Almighty! I have well earned them." (Autobiography.)

[1] The fortunes of the young Duchess during this period are described by Reumont: *Die Jugend Catarina's de Medici.*

Florence capitulates, Aug. 12, 1530.

government.[1] Nevertheless the Medicean party immediately put forward a government of twelve men, who inaugurated their reign by the confiscation of the property and the murder of their opponents.[2] The siege had reduced the flourishing city, which numbered 70,000 inhabitants, to poverty, and besides 22,000 who had fallen in battle, several thousand citizens had died of hunger or pestilence. Such was the end of the illustrious republic, which for centuries had represented the Italian national spirit in a political system, constantly changing but always full of vitality, and in the noblest creations of genius. Florence fell only three years after Rome, and at the hands of the same soldiers of the emperor, who threw Italy into fetters. If the cruel fall of Rome in 1527 causes us to shudder, nevertheless her fate was in some degree a well-merited punishment; but Florence, even if also ripe for her end, was not guilty to the same degree. In the hour of her heroic death, she, the last representative of Italian independence, adorned herself with the laurels of Dante, with all the noble names and virtues of her past. Pope Clement VII., the cowardly bastard of the degenerate house of Medici, plunged the dagger in her heart. With Florence expired not only the freedom of Italy, but the most brilliant period of Italian culture.

[1] The Capitulation is given in Varchi, lib. xi. 446, who says, that Clement acted in direct opposition to every article.

[2] The Dominican Benedetto da Fojano was surrendered by Malatesta into the hands of the Pope, who caused this successor of Savonarola to be slowly starved to death in S. Angelo. Varchi, lib. xii.

Henceforward Spain was able to rule in tranquillity the enslaved country.

The Medici made rulers of Florence by the Emperor.

On October 28, in an edict promulgated at Augsburg, the emperor in his clemency conceded an amnesty to the Florentines; their regents for all time were to be the Medici, and their elected head Alessandro his future son-in-law. Thus by the will of Charles V. was this bastard race planted on the ruins of Florence, and the most ardent wish of Clement VII. was attained.

Inundation of the Tiber in Rome, Oct. 7, 1530.

As in the times of Justinian, the scourge of the devastating elements followed on war and pestilence. On October 7, 1530, Rome suffered one of the worst inundations of the Tiber on record. Nearly 600 houses and some bridges, among them the Ponte Sisto, were destroyed. The Pope, just returned from Ostia, unable to reach the Vatican, was obliged to seek shelter in the palace of Ridolfi on the Quirinal, where he remained two days. The loss of property was immense, and the exhalations left by the flood produced a fresh outbreak of pestilence. "The Pope however let those weep who wished to weep, and, uninstructed and unheeding, continued his political projects for the aggrandisement of his house."[1]

[1] Muratori, *Annal. ad A.* 1530. The water reached to the steps of S. Peter's. The palace of Giuliano Cesi in the Via Giulia buried thirty people in its fall. For inscriptions concerning this inundation see Bonini, *Il Tevere incatenato*, Rome, 1663. From Saec. XVI. onwards we have writings dealing with the regulation of the Tiber; thus in addition to that just mentioned: *Del Tevere di M. A. Bacci*, Venice, 1576. *Delle cagioni e dei rimedi delle inondazione del Tevere*, by Chiesa, Rome, 1746. The inundation of December 1870, of which

Riveted in the fetters of Spain, which with his wonted cunning and weakness he shook from time to time, owing to the grace of the emperor his position as an insignificant prince in Italy, as formerly Herod in Judea owed his to Augustus, the timid spirit of Clement VII. shrunk to utter nothingness in his latter years, and his most important concern was in truth the aggrandisement of the house of Medici. Fearing Spain and Charles V., whom, as may well be imagined, he never forgave for the insult inflicted on him in Rome, he strove to undermine the imperial power by strengthening that of France, which could as little forgive its own defeat. But he was careful to avoid provoking the emperor, in whose hands lay the fate of the Medici. He willingly recognised the elevation of Ferdinand of Hungary and Austria as King of Germany and the Romans, when, in spite of the opposition of the Protestants, the emperor's brother was elected at Cologne on January 5, 1531, and crowned at Aachen on January 11.[1] In the summer of the same year the emperor yielded to the request of Clement VII., and through

I was a witness, exceeded in height that of 1495, but not that of 1530. The highest of all took place in December 1598. Since 1870 the regulation of the Tiber has been a subject of diligent study. Several works have been written on the question. In his *Saggio di Bibliografia del Tevere* (Roma, 1876) Enrico Narducci has endeavoured to collect all that has been written on the subject of the Tiber. His work reaches 412 numbers, and yet is not entirely complete.

[1] The Pope congratulated Ferdinand, Rome, February 13, 1531: in Raynald, n. 11. He calls the two brothers *firmas anchoras sustinendae Petri cymbae in tantis hodie tempestatibus fluctuantis.*

his ambassador Muscettola and Nicholas Schomberg, the representative of the Pope, installed Alessandro as regent of Florence. On July 5 the bastard entered the unfortunate city. By this act of favour Charles soothed the Pope's indignation, evoked by the sentence pronounced in April, when in the name of the Empire the Duke of Ferrara had been confirmed in possession of Reggio, Modena and Rubiera. The long-continued and disastrous attempts of the popes to seize these territories by artifice and force were consequently frustrated. Nevertheless, even during times of peace Clement still continued his cunning intrigues against Ferrara.[1]

Alessandro Medici enters Florence as regent, July 5, 1531.

On April 27, 1532, the republican constitution was abolished in Florence and Alessandro Medici created Duke. In July 1532 the Pope sent Ippolito, his other nephew, as legate to Hungary, where, after having tranquillised Germany by the religious peace of Nuremberg of July 23, the emperor at length undertook the campaign against the Turks. This Crusade had been decided on at the Diet of Regensburg, and with 8000 Spaniards, and also papal troops, Antonio Leyva departed from Italy to join it.

But as Soliman without hazarding a decisive battle retired to Turkey, and the German imperial army refused to prosecute the war in Hungary,

[1] Guicciardini, once more governor of Bologna, lent himself to this despicable conspiracy against Ferrara, and his letters to Jacopo Salviati (*Op. ined.*, ix. p. 162 *sq.*, from June 1531 until the year 1533) redound no less to his disgrace than to that of Pope Clement.

Second Congress at Bologna, Dec. 1532.

Charles returned to Spain by way of Italy, where he wished to hold a second meeting with the Pope in Bologna. The aim of this congress was to secure Italy against the ceaseless designs of Francis I., to settle the question of the divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine, and to decide on convoking a council to reconcile the Protestants to the Church. It was with reluctance that Clement obeyed the behest of the all-powerful emperor; coming from Perugia in the middle of winter, he arrived at Bologna on December 8, 1532, and soon after received Charles. The ill-humour was great on both sides. The emperor was too well acquainted with the papal policy not to know that, provided they had a favourable opportunity, Clement and the Italian States formerly belonging to the league would ally themselves with France against him. Under pretext of the danger threatened by the Turks, he succeeded in forming an Italian league, in which the Pope, the Emperor, Sforza, Alfonso, Florence, Genoa, Siena and Lucca pledged themselves to a six years' alliance, the aim of which was to safeguard Milan against the machinations of France. The republic of Venice alone refused its adherence.

The Emperor demands, the Pope refuses the Council.

More than all else Clement feared the Council. The emperor had continued to demand it ever since the first congress at Bologna, for to him it was of vital importance that an end should be put to the schism in Germany, which while it weakened his power strengthened that of France. Already, in consequence of the league of Smalkald and urged

thereto by necessity, the Protestant princes had determined on the momentous step of seeking protection from the hereditary foe of the Empire. It was therefore necessary that Francis I. should prevent the Council being summoned, in order that the schism in the Empire might be prolonged; and Clement VII. was too astute a diplomatist not to recognise that the pressure which Turks and Protestants brought to bear on the emperor would present opportunities advantageous to himself. Many other topics besides the Lutheran question might be discussed at a Council; if not that of the stain attached to his birth, at any rate his nepotism, the ruin of Rome and the cruel subjugation of Florence.[1] The remarkable letters to Charles of the Cardinal and Bishop of Osma, Garcia de Loaysa, confessor to the emperor and after May 1530 his representative in Rome, show clearly how greatly the Pope feared a council and how adroitly he evaded it; "the most mysterious man, more full of cyphers than any other in the world." Clement was undoubtedly well pleased when Grammont, the French ambassador in Rome, opposed the endeavours of May and Loaysa,

[1] *La dura e vergognosa ossidione e debellazione di Fiorenza*: Revelations of Antonio Soriano, in Albéri, II., vol. iii. 299. *Benchè fosse in poco amore con Cesare che lo reggeva e menava alla via che voleva, gli conveniva—per necessità—consentire a quanto Cesare voleva* —Loaysa openly wrote to the Emperor, that the Pope feared that his deposition might be moved for in a Council; and even if the Emperor would not sanction his deposition, *todavia non se podrà escusar, que no se publiquen las grandes desordenes pasados* (his excesses) *que no es pequeña afrenta.* Letters to the Emperor Charles V., written by his Confessor (1530–1532), edited by G. Heine, Berlin, 1848, in several passages.

the imperial ministers, to summon a council. And although on January 10, 1533, Granvella, May and Covos, councillors of the emperor, met in Bologna to confer with a junta of cardinals, and Clement wrote to the German electors, that it was his most earnest wish that the ecclesiastical council should assemble as soon as possible, the expression of this wish was nothing more than words. The conditions which he proposed for the council could never be accepted by the Protestants.[1]

Ever suspicious of the emperor, who measured the greatness of the Medici drop by drop, and who still delayed sending his little daughter Margaret to Italy, Clement finally accepted the family alliance offered him by France. The pawn which he moved in this political game of chess was the young Duchess Catherine Medici, whom after the fall of Florence the Pope had caused to be brought to Rome. The emperor, in accordance with Granvella's advice, wished to marry her to Francesco Sforza and thus detach the Pope for ever from France. But Francis I. had already made at Calais a treaty with the

Scheme of marrying Catherine de Medici to Henry of Orleans.

[1] Raynald and Pallavicini in vain try to prove the sincerity of the Pope. Loaysa wrote to the Emperor: *que este nombre de concillio aboresce el Papa, como si le mentasen al diablo.* He said, that he (the Pope) caressed the French, in order that the King might aid him to evade the Council. He advises the Emperor to make a treaty with the Germans "whether they were heretics or Catholics." Loaysa despised the Pope. The Venetian ambassador said: *La V. Serenità —in materia di Concilio puo esser certissima che dal conto di Clemente esso fu fuggito con tutti i mezzi—e la paura di quello, più che ogn' altra cosa, vessò l'animo di sua santità, di sorta che per tal causa ella perdette l'amicizia che avea con Cesare e con altri, e finalmente la vita propria*: in Albéri, II., v. iii. 297.

King of England, the object of which was to prevent the Pope from throwing himself entirely into the arms of the emperor. In his anxiety to recover Milan, Francis lowered himself so far as to ask for the hand of the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici for his second son Henry of Orleans. The Pope showed timidity in accepting the proposal, which was made to him by Grammont and the Duke of Albany in 1531. He carried on negotiations with France at the same time as he was discussing with the imperial ambassador the project of his niece's marriage to Sforza. The emperor, who did not believe Francis I. serious in regard to the proposed marriage, was at length startled by hearing of his consent, with which Cardinals Tournon and Grammont hastened to acquaint the Pope in Bologna.[1] It was now too late for Charles to prevent the marriage. After having received the Pope's promise to pronounce the ecclesiastical censure on Henry VIII. on account of his adultery, the emperor left Bologna on February 25, 1533, the day after the Italian league had been signed, to proceed to Spain by way of Genoa. He was accompanied by Alessandro Medici. A few days later Clement returned to Rome.

The formation of the new league gravely irritated the French court; the Pope, however, represented that it was to the advantage of the King, since its result would be to disperse the Spanish army in

[1] Besides Cardinals Medici and Salviati, Guicciardini (xx. 411) was plenipotentiary of the Pope in Bologna for the conclusion of the league.—Grammont and Tournon came to Bologna on January 4, 1533. Bellay, ii. 222.

Lombardy; and he gave it to be understood that between his promises to the emperor and their fulfilment much might intervene.[1] His ambition exulted in the thought of having gained a husband of the house of Valois for his niece. He prized this stroke of fortune more highly than the marriage of his nephew to an illegitimate daughter of the emperor, although by no means dissatisfied with Charles's promise that the nine years' old princess should immediately be sent to Italy and married to Alessandro at a fitting time.[2] He contemplated bestowing Reggio, Modena, Rubiera, Pisa, Leghorn, Parma and Piacenza as a marriage portion on Catherine.[3]

In November 1531 he had arranged a meeting with King Francis, and the suspicious Charles was unable to prevent the interview. The Congress of Nice was to follow that of Bologna, in order, as Clement intended, to show the world that his sole object was peace with all the powers; for in this meeting the Turkish war, the settlement of the English divorce question and affairs of general importance were to be the only subjects of discussion. The emperor did not allow himself to be

[1] *Massimamente che tra le obligazioni e la osservanza—potevano nascere molte difficoltà, e diversi impedimenti*: Guicciardini, xx. 412.

[2] She went to Florence in April 1533, and with Alessandro Medici made her pompous entry into Rome on May 5, 1533. (Despatch of the Mantuan agent Fabrizio Pellegrino: Rome, May 6, 1533, Gonzaga Archives.) She then went to Naples. The marriage took place in 1536. Charles had at first wished to break off the match, if the French marriage were determined on: Guicciardini, xx. 412. Sforza married Christina of Denmark, niece of the Emperor.

[3] Martin du Bellay, ii. 227.

deceived. He was perfectly aware that the question at issue was the restoration of Genoa, Milan, and yet other territories to the crown of France by the marriage of Catherine de' Medici.

Clement left Rome with ten cardinals and several prelates on September 9, 1533. Travelling through Umbria and Tuscany without touching Florence, he reached Porto Pisano, where he embarked in Albany's fleet on October 4, the richly dowered bride having shortly before been taken to meet her uncle on the coast of Nice.[1] On October 12 he landed at Marseilles. Here the meeting with Francis had been arranged to take place, since Charles of Savoy, in fear of the emperor, had refused to hand the fortress of Nice over to the Pope. After the days of terror in Rome, after all his dreadful experiences, Clement VII. celebrated in Marseilles the royal honours to which the house of Medici was raised. He dwelt in the immediate neighbourhood of King Francis, as formerly in Bologna in that of the emperor. The King and Queen Eleanor, sister of Charles V., the princes and nobles of France, the envoys of foreign powers, a thousand lords, knights and noble women, finally the papal court surrounded the youthful pair, whose marriage was performed by the Pope himself. Eight and thirty years later the curses of mankind were to fall on Catherine's head, for the far-off consequence of this union was to be the massacre in Paris, the night of S. Bartholomew, which was sanctified by the prayers of a Roman pope. The

Congress at Marseilles, Oct. 1533. Marriage of Catherine de Medici.

[1] *Jovii Histor.*, xxxi. 224.

festivals at Marseilles, the banquets, prolonged for days, on the shores of that radiant sea, were intoxicating to the senses; and this was the spectacle which the Pope offered to the world in place of a council.

In order to avert the council the king's aid was necessary.[1] Amid the tumult of revels and tournaments King and Pope in private discussed the future of Italy. True that Clement pledged himself not to assist Francis by treaty towards the reconquest of Milan and Genoa, but he also promised not to hinder him in their recovery, and it was assuredly only death that released him from the inevitable consequences of the Congress of Marseilles.

Return to Rome and death of Clement VII.

On his return to Rome on December 10, 1533, he believed himself to have reached the summit of his statecraft, since the alliance between his house and the two great powers, between which he had invariably oscillated to and fro, seemed to him the most efficacious means of preserving the balance between them, while at the same time it assured a brilliant future to the house of Medici. He was not deceived on the second point at least, for Catherine ascended the royal throne of France, and for two centuries the Medici ruled Florence. Within a few years, however, death removed the two bastard nephews, for whose sake Clement VII. had destroyed the liberty of his native city. The brilliant Cardinal Ippolito died as early as August 10, 1535, at Itri, in Campania, of fever, or of poison

[1] Disclosures of Antonio Soriano, in Albéri, S. II., vol. iii. 297 *sq.*

administered at the instigation of Alessandro. The vicious Alessandro himself was murdered at Florence on January 5, 1537, by Lorenzino Medici.

Clement VII. did not live to see the death of his nephews. Falling ill soon after his return, he lingered for some miserable months, tortured by memories, by the fear of a council and by the melancholy spectacle presented by Germany and England. For after his final judgment on Henry VIII.'s divorce and his threat to pronounce the anathema on the King, England severed herself from the Roman Church.

Clement VII.'s letter of farewell to the Emperor.

On September 23, 1534, Clement wrote from his deathbed a letter of farewell to Charles V. "Most beloved son in Christ! In this my severe and constant illness, of which your Majesty has probably already been informed, since, although my strength for a while seemed to be restored, I have now relapsed into greater danger, I feel myself near my end and shall not unwillingly take leave of life. Concerning, however, the peace of Italy and Christendom and the establishment of the Apostolic Chair, all of which I mainly owe to your grace, and now leave behind me, I am no little concerned, for I know not what times may follow, nor of what mind may be my successor. Besides these public affairs I am also troubled by the thought of my native Florence, where I saw the light, and by that of my nephew Duke Alessandro, since I fear that the position, which your magnanimity has bestowed on him, may be destroyed by those enemies who are encouraged by the circumstance that his

marriage with your daughter has not yet taken place. But your fidelity and goodness, dearest son, do not allow us to fear, that the love which emanates from your magnanimity, will ever be diminished through you; on the contrary I regard as already accomplished that which your conscientiousness has determined. Impelled therefore by the special love which I bear to your Excellency, and feeling that I am beloved by you, I address you by means of this letter and its bearer with almost my last voice. I send to you my beloved son the Protonotary Carnesecca de' Medici, my private secretary, to whom I am accustomed to impart all my cares, the thoughts of my soul and my most secret concerns. I earnestly entreat you out of regard to me to receive and listen to this man, who is very dear to me by reason of his fidelity and virtue, and I implore you by the heart of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in this my last hour, that your Majesty will maintain the same disposition towards the Holy Church and the welfare of the whole of Christendom, and I recommend to you in all times the dignity of the Sacred Chair and the peace of Italy, which mainly depend on the power and rectitude of your Majesty. I also recommend to thee personally my nephews Cardinal Ippolito Medici and Alessandro, who is thy servant, and in respect of the dukedom of Penna and also in particular thy Majesty's subject, that thou in the same goodness, with which thou hast taken them under thy protection, may further keep them, for I can leave behind no greater assurance than the

trust in thy unbounded goodness and favour. In this confidence I willingly depart this life, and do not doubt that thy Majesty in virtue of thy great goodness and in memory of me will keep these my nephews in thy perpetual protection."[1]

We may honour the steadfast affection which Clement VII. bore to his relations, but must at the same time wonder that the last thought of a pope, who had witnessed so many striking events of world-wide importance, should be dedicated to the fate of two insignificant nephews.[2] Clement passed away on September 25. "He died," says Guicciardini, who despised the Pope, "hated by the Curia, distrusted by the princes, leaving behind a hated and oppressive rather than a pleasing memory, for he was considered avaricious, a man of little sincerity and by nature averse to doing good."[3] "Clement," says Jovius, "lacked the faculties of magnanimity and generosity; his nature took pleasure in parsimony and dissimulation; he was not cruel or malicious, but hard and narrow-minded. He hated no one, for he loved no one."[4] "For upwards of a century," says his confidant Francesco Vettori, "no better man than Clement has sat on the Sacred Chair; he was not cruel, or proud, or addicted to simony; neither avaricious nor sensual. . . . Nevertheless the disaster took place in his time, and others who were filled with

Death of Clement VII., Sept. 25, 1534.

[1] Raynald ad A. 1534, n. lxvii.

[2] On July 30, 1534, he had appointed them his heirs. Copy of his will, *Cod. ital.*, 216, Munich Library.

[3] Guicciardini, xx. 417.

[4] *Historiar.*, xxxii. 234.

vices lived and died, as the world goes, in prosperity."[1]

On the head of Clement VII. instead of on that of Alexander VI. fell a storm of misfortune, heavier than was deserved by the guilt of this weak and timid man; a man of little heart and no great passion; who of the exalted duties of the priesthood fulfilled only the traditional observances, and whose entire reign was absorbed in politics, petty or grand. The punishment, which avenged the disorders, the worldly ambition and the sins of the Papacy under his predecessors, fell on him as the heir of all the accumulated corruptions of the Curia and Church. It is only just to say, that Clement VII. was so entangled in the labyrinth of inherited evils, that some superhuman power would have been required to effect his release. It was solely the influence of the Reformation that opened a loophole to his successors. Ascending the Sacred Chair amid the storms of a new epoch, an epoch which was to transform the world, he encountered the political tempest, armed only with the feeble arts of the diplomatist educated in the school of Leo X., and Machiavelli's *Prince*, in order to afford, if ever a pope did so, proof clear as day, that the corruption of the Church as of the State arose from the combination of religion with politics, and to show that priests are called to stand

[1] *Alieno dal sangue*: a curious term of praise for a Pope. I place side by side the opinions of the two men who were thoroughly acquainted with Clement VII., and refrain from all comment, leaving it to the reader to pronounce his own verdict.

by the altar of the Church, but not to political rule. His pontificate was fraught with ruin both to the world and to Rome.[1] We may therefore call him the most unfortunate of popes. He beheld at one and the same time the fall of the historic greatness of the Papacy, the destruction of the unity of the Catholic Church, and the extinction of Italian liberty under foreign rule.

Had this Pope of the Downfall been a greater character, he would have stood forth at least as a tragic figure in the history both of his country and of the Papacy. For Clement VII. was the last pope whom circumstances summoned to defend the liberty of the Italian people against the restored imperial authority and against foreign dominion, as his great predecessors on the papal throne had defended it in ancient times. He failed pitiably in the fulfilment of this exalted task, and finally abandoned it from petty motives of domestic policy, to form an alliance with the same victorious power that reduced Italy to servitude. To this alliance Florence fell the first sacrifice, and the restoration of a national political system in Italy was thereby rendered impossible for centuries. With Clement the Papacy itself also failed in this great aim and failed for ever. Owing to the foreign rule,

[1] I transcribe this sentence deliberately word for word from Domenico Bernini (*Historia di tutte l'heresie*, iv. 365). *Certa cosa si è, che luttuoso e funesto fù il suo Ponteficato al mondo e a Roma.* Muratori, *Annal. ad A.* 1534, asks, what good Clement had done for the Church, as Vicar of Christ, amid the storms of religion, and what abuses he had removed, and only finds, *ch' egli si servi del Ponteficato, delle sue forze e de' suoi proventi per suscitare o mantener guerre.*

which Alexander VI. had introduced into Italy, and which Clement VII. strengthened and sealed, the Papacy, deposed from its high national position, hurled from the summit of its universal spiritual power by the Reformation, finally ousted from the new life of culture and reduced to intellectual torpor by the counter-reformation, surviving henceforth only as a ruin, and quaking at every breath of freedom in the world of politics or science, formed an alliance with almost every despotic power and with every retrograde theory, in order to preserve its temporal state and its spiritual authority.

The tomb of Clement VII. in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, where it stands opposite the monument of Leo X., is the last milestone of a long series in the history of the Papacy and the city of Rome; the history most full of passion, the most glorious and most sublime in the annals of mankind.

CLOSE OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The author's farewell to the history of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, Jan. 19, 1872.

THE task of the historian of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages is ended; he has reached his goal. As from the summit of a lofty mountain which he has arduously climbed, he can turn his gaze backwards over the long and dark periods he has traversed, and forwards to succeeding times, to that boundary where the future is shrouded in mystery from the present. If it be the task of the historian to reveal the form of the times, he must await the verdict of thinking men, as to whether he has succeeded in doing more than trace in shadowy outline the features of the mysterious past.

The spirit of the Middle Ages is indeed frequently more perplexing than that of classic antiquity, to the ruins of which its history is linked. Entire territories within it are steeped in darkness, over which chronicles and documents scarcely shed a ray. The Middle Ages are the development of the Western races, by the influence of the principles of the Christian religion operating on the foundations of ancient culture; they are the

great factory and the treasure-house of all the ideas of our culture. The farther we are separated from them, the more mysterious and deserving of reverence do they appear. The sublimity of their ideals and the fervour of their religion, the grandeur of their world-embracing system, the visionary subordination of the earthly to the spiritual, the many-sided forms of their life, the profound antagonism between the supernatural and the actual world, and their destructive but at the same time fruitful struggle; all these things exhibit a cosmos of ideas and phenomena, whose essential nature seems veiled in mystery. Several incidents in the mediaeval world, which formerly appeared clear, are now blurred to our altered vision; many that looked dark to bygone generations are illuminated for us by the light of reason. Ideas and dogmas, rights and laws, belief and mode of thought, Church and State have changed their places in the intellectual system, or have sunk below our horizon, and this transformation is history itself. Is it given to the historian to retrace with safety its many tortuous paths, correctly to perceive the laws of its movement, to secure to the times of which he treats their true posthumous value, and from the ruin of facts to raise up the spiritual picture of the past as its indestructible, because ideal, actuality? Here, where I must take leave of the History of the City of Rome—the work which has filled with enjoyment seventeen years of my life—I once more feel acutely the whole weight of my task. Out of the ruins of the centuries,

the historic march of which is for us interrupted by arid voids, I had the audacity to seek to glean it from the Roman soil. My work is merely an imperfect fragment; but such as it is, I gratefully and reverently lay it as a votive offering at the feet of Rome.

The idea of the work was suggested by the overwhelming spectacle of the monumental grandeur of the city, and perhaps by the presentiment which made itself obscurely felt at the time, that the history of the Roman Middle Ages would soon reach its perfect close in the downfall of the papal dominion, and that, after a long-continued period of spiritual rule, the city of Rome approached a second metamorphosis—that of her re-secularisation. While writing this history, I was an eye-witness first of the restoration of the Papacy after its merely momentary fall in 1848, then of the great Italian revolution, which produced the last catastrophe. These events aided my work, quickening my perception of the fundamental ideas and the historic current of the Roman past, while at the same time they opened to me many of the archives of Rome and Italy, which apart from this revolution would scarcely have been accessible.

I began my task in 1855, and ended it in 1871, at the time when the fall of the papal temporal state had become an accomplished fact. No more significant or appropriate moment could indeed have been found for the completion of the history of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages.

Friendly critics of the work have suggested that

I should continue the history down to present days on the same lines as those on which I have endeavoured to deal with the Middle Ages—from its documents. I am therefore obliged to say that I do not desire to undertake this new task, and to give my reasons therefor.

The period from the death of Clement VII. onwards offers but scant materials to the historian of the city, and these materials deal almost exclusively with the history of the Papacy, restricted, as it was, within ever-narrowing limits of moral influence. During these three centuries the city of Rome could neither be an active factor in the history of the West, nor a mirror reflecting the movements of Europe. The historian would consequently find it difficult to bring the great currents of universal history into relation to the city of Rome, or to discover the hidden survival of those great fundamental thoughts that determined the character of the Roman Middle Ages. By these thoughts I mean, besides the papal power, the principle of the civic republic, and the idea of the Empire.

From the time of Charles V.'s coronation until the end of the eighteenth century, the popes ruled Rome in such perfect tranquillity, that during this period of the political extinction of Italy, as well as of the torpor of the Papacy, they enjoyed their happiest but most inglorious term of government. The imperial idea, like the municipal principle, rested in oblivion, until the ancient struggles were re-awakened by the French revolution. From this

moment, when a fresh chain of national, social and intellectual revolutions began, until present days, the author who continues the history of the City of Rome will have to describe the death struggles of the political Papacy; and in his hands the revivified picture of Rome will take shape as the tragedy of the ruin of the State of the Church and of the present form of the Papacy. He will have to depict the dream-like awakening of the republic on the Capitol at the end of the eighteenth century, and the gigantic shadow of Caesarism, which in Napoleon suddenly rose over Rome and the world, while the legitimate imperial authority of the German emperors vanished. He will describe the sudden fall of the colossus of Caesarism, and the restoration of the papal power by the Congress of Vienna, and will relate how a violent conflict of secular impulses immediately arose against this spiritual restoration. He will set forth how each of the three leading ideas, that determined the history of the City of Rome, were supplanted in turn by the impulse of nationality. He will show how the national-political idea, which was first conceived by Cola di Rienzo, but which was by him interwoven with ancient Roman legal conceptions and ecclesiastical scholasticism, shook off its mediaeval character. He will prove how this severance from every tie with the ancient ideas of the Empire, the Church and the municipal republic, and, in general, how the radical estrangement of the modern theory of the state and European politics from the old theological concep-

tion of the universe, have given the victory to the principle of nationality.

The spirit that rules the history of the world has unburthened itself before our eyes in a storm of disasters, and has brought with it so much of destruction and of creation, that even although the latest developments may have produced only phases of transition and problems instead of permanent forms, still a new era for Europe begins with the years 1870 and 1871. The reader who has followed the history of Rome in the Middle Ages holds in his hands the threads of a historic web, which embraces both the Latin and the German world, and the centre of which is Rome; he will therefore recognise the perfect sequence of historic cause and effect which has resulted in events such as those of present times.

The Ghibelline ideas of the development of the Church, the struggle of the spirit of reform against the papal hierarchy, the efforts of the Papacy to acquire universal spiritual supremacy, Caesarism and nationality, Italy's strivings towards independence and unity, the like impulse towards unity in Germany, the gigantic struggles of the Germans and the French for the right of national reorganisation, perhaps for the hegemony of Europe —all these ideas, tendencies, necessities and antagonisms of history, interwoven in the past, we have seen burst in a storm that shook the world, in the great drama of our times. From this hurricane Germany issued with the political reformation, the necessary outcome of the ecclesiastical. After an

interregnum of sixty-four years the imperial authority was restored in the Protestant house of Hohenzollern; the German Empire arose as a national Empire severed from the ancient political ties to Rome and Italy. Italy herself, which, owing to mediaeval dogmas, had for centuries been a fief of the German Empire, and which from the time of Charles V. was to suffer the foreign rule of Spain and Austria, became entirely independent, and with the sanction of Europe was enabled to work out her national reconstruction without difficulty. For the first time since the days of the Gothic King Theodoric, she became once more a united kingdom. Italy and Germany, the two sisters linked together by fate, though at enmity with one another, from whose reciprocal connection in the Middle Ages European culture had arisen, were now divided and at last reconciled by freedom.

In the midst of these convulsions was accomplished the fall of the Papacy, which had been erected on a new political foundation by Julius II., and recognised by Charles V. It fell at the time when Pius IX., the Pope who had longest filled the Chair of Peter, had completed the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The overthrow of the oldest, and, in the eyes of many, the most revered power of Europe, the power which had survived the countless revolutions of a thousand years, is the great tragedy of modern times. This power itself was the historic product of the political and ecclesiastical constitution of Europe, and had been created, preserved and combated by the ideas and necessities of the time.

It fell in our own days amid the storm of the world's history, its grave surrounded by wars of races and events no less great and stirring than those witnessed by the weak and unfortunate Clement VII. Its funeral knell was the thunder of terrible battles, battles such as history has but seldom seen, and the downfall of an empire. It perished owing not only to the destructive power of the entirely changed ideas of mankind, but also owing to the inflexibility of its own principle. For, as always in similar shipwrecks of history, the survival of a principle of rigid immobility becomes an evil of tragic import in the pressure of the advancing current of life. The political form of the Papacy became an anachronism and an anomaly in the reconstituted world. Its fall was the sentence pronounced by history itself.

After the counter-reformation, which killed the spirit of the Renascence, the declining Papacy, devoid of rejuvenating vitality, still fighting for its existence, remained at ever-increasing antagonism to European culture. This culture, the result of universal progress, is nevertheless in great part the product of the Christian church. At impotent discord with progress, which in its timidity it longed to arrest, opposed to the freedom of states and peoples and to the advance of science, the development of which it repudiated, the Papacy—which owing to its rigidity and torpor had scarcely any history—sought its salvation in the revival of the mediaeval ideal of Gregory VII. The violent proclamation of papal absolutism, for which in its

actual state the European intellect no longer possessed either the faith or the need, was in the immediate past the most lamentable, the most insolent, and the most despairing protest of the papal power against its own overthrow—that is to say, against the inevitable transformation demanded by history. It was at the same time the dogmatic keystone of the Gregorian Church, above which, naturally, no superstructure is possible. The colossal pyramid of the Roman Papacy was completed on July 18, 1870.

It will remain a historic monument visible to all future time, even when other equally great forms of the past have vanished from the sight of men. And even if it be a mausoleum for the now decrepit form of the Papacy, history nevertheless does not possess a sufficient number of heroic titles to inscribe upon it, and with them even approximately record the all-embracing energy, the great creative achievements and the imperishable glory of the popes.

When in a future century the passionate struggles with the hierarchy—in which we are still engaged—have ceased, or when the popes themselves have become mere names and figures of the past, then only will mankind award full recognition to their memory, and the long series of pontiffs will form a system in the heaven of the history of civilisation, that must far outshine every other line of princes and potentates.

A future historian of the fall of the Papacy will linger with astonishment on the fact that the successor of St. Peter, in that same hour in which

he mounted to the giddy and dazzling height of his dogmatic omnipotence, and in which he ventured to bury the Church's inner life and capacity for development in the dogma of Infallibility, as it were in a sarcophagus, witnessed the falling away of all temporal conditions, and suffered the loss of the material foundations of his spiritual power, the possession, namely, of the City of Rome and the State of the Church, which had been his for a thousand years. He will then probably proceed to show that this coincidence of facts, the violent destruction of the ancient constitution of the Church through the Papacy, and the collapse of its temporal sovereignty, were a historic necessity; that the one was demanded by the other.

On September 20, 1870, the Italians became masters of Rome. A long chain of causes and effects extending from the Lombard King Desiderius down to Victor Emmanuel led to this event, which we spectators scarcely yet seem able to grasp. And as it was conditioned by the past of Italy, so is it also linked with the change in the fundamental ideas of the constitution of Europe. I speak of the entire collapse of that universal ideal of the Christian republic, which was expressed in the universal system of the Church and the Empire, until the rise of the modern monarchies and the German Reformation began to destroy this theory. From the year 1806 onwards, when the Roman-German imperium expired, Europe beheld first the fall of the Napoleonic universal empire, then the withdrawal of Austria—on which a reflex of the

ancient imperial idea still rested — from all its historic relations with Italy, finally the fall of the second Napoleonic empire, the last protector of the political Papacy. True, that Germany (whence through the Reformation had proceeded the destruction of the universal church) restored the empire, but she only restored it within the narrow confines of nationality. Within these limits the ancient idea of empire held by Dante has receded and practically vanished from the Europe of the present.

Rome, the historic source of this cosmopolitan ideal, remained naturally the last stronghold of the theory of the universal Christian republic, the banner of which, abandoned by the empire, was here displayed in tragic and self-incurred loneliness by Pius IX. In this history I have described how, from the time of Charles the Great to that of Charles V., the historic system of the Papacy remained inseparable from that of the empire, how one pre-supposed and upheld the other, how even their very conflict only increased their mutual energies, while neither disputed the principle of the other, and how the ruin of one necessarily entailed that of its rival. Perhaps we may even now say that had the Papacy shown itself in its ideal greatness, the habitual reverence of nations for an exalted tradition would have demanded or at least desired that Rome—secularised indeed—should have continued her existence as a free Italian city. But at a terrible crisis the Papacy, with a frankness hitherto unknown to history,

avowed itself as an enemy on principle to modern culture and to all its possessions most cherished by educated nations, and the history of the last Vatican council, as of all the ecclesiastical acts of Pius IX. that preceded it, clearly explains the entire alienation of races, states and governments from the Papacy, as also its inevitable fall.

As a natural result of the ruin of the imperial idea, and of the collapse of the universal ideals which we have described, the Italians, without protest from Europe, nay, rather supported by public opinion, forcibly dethroned the Pope, put an end to conditions in Rome that had become intolerable, and made the ancient cosmopolitan city the capital of the young national kingdom. A future historian will have to describe the effects of this unparalleled act, and the transformation to which it will necessarily subject the Church, Italy and the City of Rome. No mortal can read the Sibylline books of the future fortunes of Rome, no prophet foretell whether Alma Roma will henceforth survive like other capitals, simply as the fortunate capital of the fairest of kingdoms and of a noble nation, or whether, if the universal requirements of the world demand it, once more in times to come she may become the receptacle—consecrated by centuries—for that idea of the federation and unity of the human race which never vanishes from history and which is to be more perfectly realised in the future. But if those ideals, which have given Rome this unique position in the world, have already faded with the past, and if the nations of Europe in their onward progress to greater

liberty no longer require an international centre, the great memories and monuments of history will ever preserve the ties which bind Rome to the human race.

The Italians received Rome as the sacred bequest of history, and while perhaps on no nation has ever been bestowed a like exalted seat of government, on none has been laid a more difficult task or a more serious duty—the duty, that is to say, of acting as the heir and restorer of the city of Rome, of becoming once more great through her greatness, of healing the terrible breach between the church and nation by a moral reform.

Fourteen hundred years after the fall of the ancient Roman empire a united and free people entered Rome, not because they stormed the outworn walls of Aurelian, but because behind these walls the aged and decaying Papacy was ready to fall, while around it the changed and changing world was in part responsible for the causes of its decrepitude. For only when the idea of the Church was full of vigour and ruled the world were the popes (almost always defenceless and often reduced to sore straits in the past) able to defend Rome and themselves. Without claiming the prophetic gift, we may predict that the era of papal rule over Rome is for ever ended, and that never again will an emperor cross the Alps to re-erect the overturned throne of the Vatican priest-kings. For its fall marks a new and important phase in the development of the European mind, and the courageous revolution by which it was accomplished

is protected by the principles—recognised by the educated world—of national right and of civil and religious freedom, whose banner the Italians planted on the ruins of the Roman papal kingdom.

The sight of the fall of an ancient and revered power may stir the tranquil spectator of history to pursue those reflections on the vicissitudes of all earthly greatness, with which at the beginning of our history we contemplated the fall of the Roman empire. For the city of Rome has evidently now reached another like epoch of her historic life; now also there is a fall and an uprisal, an inward and an outward metamorphosis in process of development. After the Romans, as this history has shown, have for centuries been condemned to sacrifice their own nature as citizens to the power of the Papacy, they are at length released from this proscription. And only now, when by means of Italy they have been re-instated in their independence and manly dignity, and in many other rights and privileges of civilisation which have hitherto been denied them, and have been awakened to a new life, only now can be laid to rest those tragic shades of history, whose series extends from Crescentius to Henry IV. the penitent at Canossa, from Arnold of Brescia and the Hohenstaufens, to Dante, Cola di Rienzo, Petrarch and Machiavelli, and down to our own days.

For almost twenty years I was a spectator of the final struggles, by means of which the city of Rome uprose again with a population of free citizens. I was at the same time steeped in the past of the city; I examined into the fortunes and the vicissitudes of

Rome, the great deeds and the great errors of the popes during a course of eleven centuries. I described the most eventful and moving tragedy in the history of the world; I traced the constantly recurring conflicts and sufferings of Rome and Italy, ever revolving round the same centre, and the fateful part which since Gothic times Germany had been called to play. Precisely on this account I deem myself happy in that the history of the city of Rome has found its true close. For it was no common fortune that allowed me not only to write and finish this history in Rome, but while engaged on its concluding pages to witness the final expiation of those very fortunes and sufferings of Rome, Italy and Germany which are recorded in these volumes.

Rome, *January* 19, 1872.

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